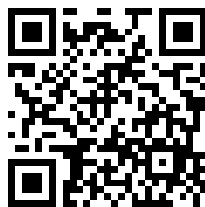

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THE HISTORY

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QUEEN'S ROYAL REG'T. SURREY REGIMENT.

...
COLONEL JOHN ... F.S.A.
*Author of "The History of the ..."
and "The History of the ..."*

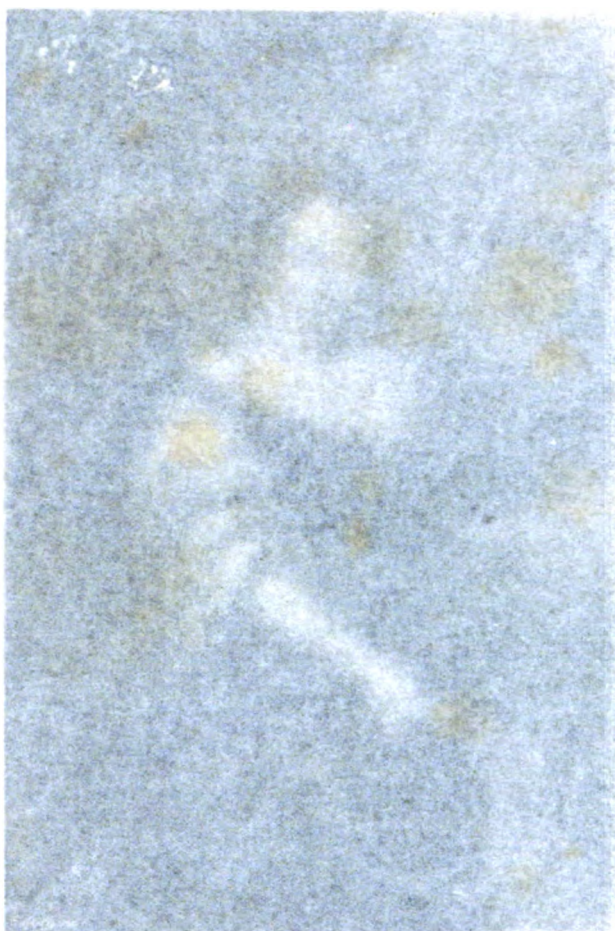
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THE HISTORY
OF
THE SECOND,
Queen's Royal Regiment,
NOW THE
QUEEN'S (ROYAL WEST SURREY) REGIMENT.

BY
COLONEL JOHN DAVIS, F.S.A.
*Commanding 3rd Battalion The Queen's (Royal West Surrey) Regiment,
Author of "The History of The Second Royal Surrey Militia."*

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OF
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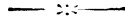
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ERRATA.

VOLUME II.

- p. 65, l. 40. *After* "Cannon's" *insert* "VII."
- p. 71, l. 24. *For* "Douglas" *read* "Douglass."
- p. 79, l. 31, 32. *For* "Douglas" *read* "Douglass."
- p. 79, l. 30. *For* "Wachop" *read* "Wauchop."
- p. 84, l. 15. "in" *read* "for."
- p. 84, l. 20. "Hammer" *read* "Hanmer."
- p. 89, l. 24. "Mitchelbourne" *read* "Michelburne."
- p. 95, l. 24. " " " "
- p. 130, l. 37. " " " "
- p. 140, l. 9. " " " "
- p. 110, l. 4. "Brigade" *read* "Brigade."
- p. 111, bottom line. *For* "Smattel" *read* "Smollet."
- p. 121, note §. *For* "Vol. I., p. 172" *read* "Vol. II., p. 372."
- p. 122, l. 15. *After* "Eppinger's" *insert* "Dutch."
- p. 127, note *. "Vol. III." *insert* "Book IX." *and for* "p. 68" *read* "p. 267."
- p. 129, l. 31. *For* "Beverley's" *read* "Byerley's."
- p. 144, l. 41. "seventeenth" "twelfth."
- p. 146, last line. *For* "best" "real."
- p. 147, l. 36. *For* "Beverley's" "Byerley's."
- p. 165, l. 4. " " " "
- p. 192, l. 2. " " " "
- p. 151, l. 29. "Colonel" *read* "Major-general."
- p. 163, l. 3 and 21. *For* "Ginkle" *read* "Ginkel."
- p. 168, l. 4. *For* "Tetteau" *read* "Tettau."
- p. 168, l. 36. "Conigsbury" *read* "Conigsby."
- p. 172, l. 37. "Tiffen" *read* "Tiffin."
- p. 178, l. 42. "Woolsey" *read* "Wolseley."
- p. 179, l. 32. "Collier" "Colyear."
- p. 189, l. 4. "Higlake" "Highlake."
- p. 199, l. 5. "Marieburg" *read* "Marykirk."
- p. 218, l. 10, 11, 13, 16. *For* "Collier" *read* "Colyear"
- p. 221, l. 37. *For* "Collier" *read* "Colyear."
- p. 232, bottom line. *For* "Collier" *read* "Colyear."
- p. 187, l. 36. *For* "Le Calimot" *read* "de la Callimot."
- p. 202, l. 30. "Dragoons" "Dragoon Guards."
- p. 203, l. 27. "Cerclaes of Lilly" *read* "Tzerclaes de Tilly."
- p. 206, l. 40. "Offeral" *read* "O'Farrell."
- p. 221, l. 40. "Offarel" *read* "O'Farrell."
- p. 241, l. 12. " " " "
- p. 216, l. 3. "Casles (or Carles)" *read* "Cassells."
- p. 227, l. 35. "Castles (or Carles)" *read* "Cassells."
- p. 216, l. 16. "Sidcombe" *read* "Tidcomb."
- p. 225, l. 14. "regiments" "regiment."
- p. 212, l. 40. "Collins" "Collier."
- p. 216, l. 34. " " " "

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- p. 248, note *. *After "p." insert "121."*
p. 260, l. 13. *For "Windham" read "Wyndham."*
p. 260, l. 15. " "Roby" " "Raby."
p. 269, l. 30. " "Portman" " "Portmore."
p. 279, l. 21. *Omit "Dutch."*
p. 294, l. 10. *For "Nunegnen" read "Nimeguen."*
p. 299, l. 35. " "Earl" *read "Duke."*
p. 303, l. 14. *Omit "regiment," and after "of," insert "the regiments of."*
p. 308, l. 8. *For "leiutenant" read "lieutenant."*
p. 343, l. 39. " "Ramilles" " "Ramillies."
p. 368, l. 19. " "Killigren" " "Killigrew."
p. 368, l. 1. " "Lieutenant Kennedy" *read "Ensign Kennedy."*
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PREFACE

TO VOLUMES II. AND III.

THE records herein traced in Vols. II. and III., now published, have been, as in the first volume, compiled mainly from original documents preserved in the Record Office, London. No earlier papers are preserved in the regimental book than those beginning at 1825, with the exception, of course, of the few particulars in "Cannon's" history of the regiment. I have all along felt the keenest regret at the loss of all the valuable papers belonging to the regiment, which, as far as I have been able to ascertain, were lost on the voyage out to China in 1860. The loss of such a document, for instance, as the regimental order of 10th June 1797, showing the earnest spirit of loyalty in the regiment on an occasion of grave national peril, is irreparable, and there is no doubt that a careful examination of all the regimental papers, had they been preserved, would not only have lightened my labours considerably, but would have given interesting particulars of the internal life of the regiment, which the examination of public documents, however carefully searched, cannot give. In addition to the valuable papers in the Record Office, London, of which I have given a complete list on the following pages, I found in the Four Courts, Dublin, and Record Tower Dublin Castle, many interesting records of the movements of the regiment while in Ireland.

My aim in this work has been, in every case where possible, to make up the history from original documents, and there will therefore be found comparatively few references to other works, though, as will be seen, many books have been consulted. I trust the list of papers in the Public Record Office that I give, will tend a little to lighten the labours of others who may wish to consult them for histories of other regiments, whose periods of service to the Crown correspond with that of the Queen's.

I have to express my regret to the officers of the regiment for the long time that has elapsed since I gave them the Tangiers history of the regiment, and that even now the remaining period from 1800 remains to be compiled.

Materials for this, however, have been collected, and the work will be commenced after a short interval of rest. I sincerely trust that officers and men will feel content with my work, and will take as much pleasure in reading, as I have in compiling, the 126 years of the history recorded in these two volumes of the grand old regiment, which has through all its existence so worthily upheld the national honour and shown its devotion and loyalty to the Crown.

It only remains for me to tender my warmest thanks to those who have assisted me in collecting materials for my work. Mr. Hubert Hall, F.S.A., Public Record Office, has again given me most valuable help, and Mr. A. Watson has most industriously and carefully copied and made extracts from all the papers in the Record Office.

I am also under great obligations to the Master and Wardens of Magdalen College for permission to print the most valuable and interesting "Journal of the Western Rebellion," written by the Gunner, Edward Dummer, and to the Council of the Royal Artillery Institute at Woolwich, who printed this MSS. for their Proceedings. Lieutenant-Colonel Raikes has given me valuable assistance in many ways, but particularly in furnishing me with a list of papers in Dublin Castle and the Four Courts, Dublin. To the late Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King-at-Arms, I owe much for his permission to take extracts from these papers. It will ever be a pleasant recollection to me that I had the privilege of knowing one who has done so much for his country in recording the history of the great families of Great Britain. His exquisite courtesy and generous help, always freely given, will never be forgotten by me. To my sister-in-law, Mrs. Richard Davis, I am under the greatest obligations for the care and attention she has given in assisting me with the drawings and plans which illustrate these two volumes. The artistic skill and the intelligence she has shown in carrying out the work is beyond all praise.

To Mr. S. Milne Milne I beg to tender my most sincere thanks for his valuable assistance in illustrating the colours and uniforms. He not only gave me drawings from his splendid collection, but he

has superintended, at great personal trouble and inconvenience, the excellent work of Messrs. Goodall and Suddick, of Leeds, who have executed all the coloured illustrations.

Among the many old officers of the regiment to whom I am indebted, I must mention particularly Lieutenant-Colonel Waring, who kindly gave me photographs of the old mitre cap worn by his great grandfather, Lieutenant Averill Daniell.

I am indebted also to Mr. Ernest R. Raitt for some interesting particulars of his family, who have an almost unbroken connection with the regiment of just 150 years, the first member of this family connected with the regiment, Robert Raitt, having joined as ensign in the year 1744.

To Colonel George Stopford Sackville my best thanks are due for allowing me to reproduce in my work the most interesting tracing of the battle of Sedgmoor, referred to in the Historical Manuscripts Commission Ninth Report, which, with the plans of Edward Dummer, make quite plain the events of that famous battle, the last that has taken place on English soil.

I must not forget to mention my indebtedness to Mr. R. S. Fergusson, F.S.A., Chancellor of Carlisle, for his careful description of the famous pictures of the grenadier soldiers of the Queen's in the County Hotel, Carlisle, and of his permission to reproduce his description in my volumes.

The indices have been made by my son-in-law, Commander Thomas Barrington Moody, R.N., to whom my thanks are especially due for his assistance in this, and also for the great help he has given me in reading over and correcting the proofs of this work.

I have, as the first volume of this history was issued without an index, re-issued the volume with this want supplied, and in order to enable those who have already obtained the first volume to have the index, I have had it inserted in special copies of Volume II., so that those who (having the first volume) wish to obtain the two now published, will have with them the index of the first volume.

With the remaining volume I purpose to include a complete list of all the officers with their services, which will, I hope, make the history of the Queen's Royal Regiment complete.

JOHN DAVIS.

Whitmead, Farnham, Surrey.

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- Index to Fleets, 1693.
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- „ „ Canada, 1711.
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- Declared Accounts: Debentures, 1717-1724, Bundle 217, Nos. 727, 728.
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HISTORY
OF THE
SECOND
QUEEN'S ROYAL REGIMENT;
NOW THE
Queen's Royal West Surrey Regiment.

CHAPTER I.

EVENTS UP TO LANDING OF DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

FROM 1684 TO 1685.

CONTENTS.—Review of Events of 1684—Order to send four Companies of the Queen's to Ireland—The French King's Intrigues in England and Spain—King Charles's popularity at home—Duke of York's unpopularity—Illness and Death of Charles—Accession of King James—Regiment ordered from Pendennis to London—Court Martial on Ensign Hilton—Establishment of Regiment—Rewards and Pensions, &c.—Parliament and the King—Monmouth and the King—Events leading up to Monmouth Rebellion—Argyle and the Scottish part in the Rebellion—Monmouth prepares the Expedition—The Prince of Orange's part in it—Monmouth prepares to land.

THE year the Regiment came to England, and took its place among the King's forces at home, was peculiarly barren of events.

Monmouth had retired to the Continent after the abortive insurrection, rather than be forced to give evidence against his friends; but the legal severities which rather disgraced the preceding year were continued, many say, through the violence of the Duke of York. Sir Thomas Armstrong, the friend, favourite, and principal adviser of Monmouth, was executed at Tyburn. Kennet, the historian, makes out that this sad event was in consequence of Charles's resentment against Armstrong, the King considering he was the cause of his son's unfilial conduct.* Scotland continued to be as distracted as it had been for

* Macpherson's History of Great Britain, Vol. I., pp. 144-412.

years, and the animosity of the two religious factions left the country open to the advances of the insurrectionary party in England. Ireland happily remained quiet under the government of the Duke of Ormond, but the Duke of York and his friends advised that Hyde, Earl of Rochester, should be appointed to Ireland to remodel the affairs there. The principal remodelling seemed to be the forming of an Army in Ireland, under a Lieutenant-General, who was to be made independent of the Lieutenant-Governor, or Viceroy, and of the civil power, and into which Army, Catholics were to be admitted. This was another of the fatal mistakes of King James, though it helped him in making a fight for his kingdom when the subsequent acts of his reign had lost him his position in England. Lord Sunderland, in order that the conduct of Ireland might be kept more in his hands, had suggested this appointment.

This action greatly mortified Lord Rochester, but the King was pleased with the idea, and the more so that it allowed him to give posts in the Army to his friends who had been excluded from a Protestant Army. One of his first appointments was a Colonel Justine MacCarthy. Lord Halifax seriously expostulated with the King, who informed the Colonel of the minister's objection to him. He, in his turn, expostulated with the minister, on which Burnet remarks, "How little safe a man was who spoke freely to the King when he crossed the King's own inclinations." *

On the 27th June, 1684, Colonel Kirk received an order† from the King to send four companies of the Regiment to Ireland. They were first to be recruited, "by beat of drum or otherwise," to sixty private soldiers; as soon as they had been recruited up to forty-five men per company a report was to be sent to the Commissary of Musters. The companies were to be complete in three weeks from the date of the order. The Regiment is here called "Our Dearest Consort the Queen's Regiment." The companies, named in the order "four youngest companies," were commanded by Captains George Talbot, Francis Chantrell, James Gays, and John Burgess. On the same day, an order‡ was issued to Colonel Kirk from Hampton Court for the disbandment of Captain Zouch Tate's company. The men were to be drafted into the other companies, towards completing the number of fifty in each, according to the establishment. It would appear from these two orders that the Regiment was still much below its strength.

Subsequent orders, dated the 11th August, from Windsor, were

* Burnet's Own Times, p. 384.

† Miscellany Orders, W.O., 1683-1697, p. 21, P.R.O.

‡ Ibid.

received, directing only three companies to embark. The three officers to command the companies were—Talbot and Gays, from the garrison at Plymouth, and Chantrill, from Pendennis.* The Earl of Bath, Governor of Plymouth, was ordered to see the companies there embarked, and Lord Arundell, Governor of the Castle and Fort of Pendennis, was to direct the embarkation of Captain Chantrill's company. The officers were informed that they would receive orders where to land in Ireland when they were on board. A later dispatch, dated the 15th August, was sent to the Governor of Pendennis, enclosing an order for Captain Chantrill, "that his company may be in a better readiness when the shipping shall arrive."

The French king was very active on the Continent this summer. Burnet remarks that, "If anything could have awakened the King the French king did enough this summer in order to it."† Luxemburg had fallen into Louis' hands, and Charles could not complain, for he was, by the pecuniary help the French king had given him, reduced to impotence abroad. Spain, feeble and in great poverty, had to submit completely to France, and, on the 10th August, at Ratisbon, signed a truce for twenty years. King Charles secretly chafed at the position he had to maintain with the French king, who was able to dictate his terms to Spain without being disturbed; but he had not long to wait before this haughty, despotic action met its reward.

Affairs at home went well for the King, and he may be said at this time, at the end of his reign, to have been as popular as when he was welcomed by the nation at the Restoration. The hatred of the people seemed to fall on his domestic enemies; and so entirely had he gained the affections of the people by his captivating and easy manners, that the rigour of his government raised no alarm, the people seeming to think that so charming a King could do their liberties no harm. Charles, however, was not quite satisfied with the position of affairs. His brother, to whom the King by his indolence left almost the entire management of the State, filled up all vacant posts with his own friends, so that they had a majority in the Cabinet. The Duke, by this and other arbitrary acts, excited some animosity against his conduct of the government, and the King himself was observed to be colder and more reserved in his manner to him. He was anxious, in order to get him away from the Court, to send him to Scotland‡ and to have the Duke of Monmouth back. In fact, Monmouth is

* Marching Orders, W.O., 1683, Vol. I., p. 77, P.R.O.

† Burnet's Own Times, p. 384.

‡ Ibid, p. 391.

said to have been actually in London, and to have had an interview with the King about this time. The Duke of York was aware of this, as shown by his letter to the Prince of Orange,* and he was determined not to leave the Court to the intrigues of his enemies.

A strong party at the Court was intriguing against the Duke, but all was put a stop to by the sudden illness of the King.

All the winter he had looked better than he had done for years, but he was not really well and the end was not far off. An attack of what seemed to be gout confined him to the Palace, where he amused himself in his Laboratory with some chemical experiments.

On 1st February (Sunday) he was very ill and could not eat, and the next day, while dressing, he was seized with an apoplectic fit. Dr. King, who had been sent for to see him, and was in attendance immediately, bled him, and he recovered from the fit; but it was evident that he was in a critical state. The great vigour of his constitution enabled him to make a struggle for life. At times it seemed as if he would conquer; but, after much suffering, he expired about noon on Friday, the 6th. It is singular that there should be so much variance about the events of Charles's last moments. Even James and his Queen could never quite agree as to circumstances connected with it,† but the main facts are uncontested. Barillon, the Ambassador of Louis, writing to his master on the 8th February (o.s.), gives a circumstantial account of his death, and of the Duchess of Portsmouth asking him to obtain a priest to comfort the King, as she knew he was at heart a Catholic.‡ Barillon spoke to the Duke of York, who, startled that he had not done this before, asked the King if he would like to see a Catholic Priest; he eagerly assented, and one Huddleston was sent for to perform the last offices. The King seemed much comforted after he left. During Thursday night he was very restless, and complained of great pain. Towards four o'clock in the morning he asked what hour it was, and being told, requested that the curtains might be drawn, that he might "once more see day." From that hour he gradually sank, and at noon all was over.

The Queen had been most assiduous in her attendance on her husband, and, though in the greatest grief and prostration, did all she could to soothe his last moments. She was not present at his death, sending a message by Lord Halifax that she was too much disordered to resume her post by the couch, and asking pardon for any offence she might unwittingly have committed, to which Charles replied,

* Dalrymple, Appendix to Part I., Book I., p. 119.

† Macaulay, Vol. I., pp. 439-440. Note.

‡ Dalrymple, Vol. I., Appendix to Part I., Book I., pp. 152-153

"She ask my pardon, poor woman? I ask hers with all my heart."* Another historian says that the Queen herself asked pardon of Charles, on her knees, having been sent for to the dying chamber.†

The King was extremely lamented by his subjects. Evelyn ‡ calls him "a Prince of many virtues and many great imperfections." Burnet says of him,§ "He had the art of making people fond of him at first by a softness in his whole way of conversation, as he was certainly the best bred man in England." The Earl of Dartmouth, in his manuscript notes on Bishop Burnet's history, gives a key to his popularity. "I was told by one that was very conversant with him that he had a constant maxim never to fall out with anybody, let the provocation be never so great, which he said he had found great benefit from all his life; and the reason he gave for it was that he did not know how soon it might be necessary to have them again for his best friends."||

Dr. Ken, one of the famous seven bishops who defied James, and who we have already met in these pages, having been in Tangiers with Lord Dartmouth, was in attendance on Charles during his last hours.

And now the Duke of York was King. It was not long before he showed himself a different ruler to the easy, graceful, and pleasure-loving Charles. Lord Churchill was sent as Ambassador Extraordinary to France, to announce the death of the late King; the great officers of State were continued in their posts, some being promoted; Lord Rochester becoming Lord High Treasurer. On the 16th February he received the white staff from the hands of the King.

The Head Quarters of the Regiment remained at Pendennis and Plymouth till April, when an order ¶ was received on the 17th April for the four companies, commanded respectively by the Colonel and Captains St. John, George and Charles Wingfield, to march to London. They were to begin their march on the 28th. The route ordered was by Truro, Gramport, Listelhell, Liskard, Saltash, Plimpton, Brent, Ashburton, Chidley, Exeter, Honiton, Axminster, Crookhorn, Sherborne, Shaftesbury, Salisbury, Middle Wallop, Andover, Whitechurch, Basingstoke, Hartley Row and Hartford Bridge, Bagshot, Egham and Staines, Hounslow and Brentford, London, where they were to arrive on the 29th of May. The average length of the day's march was ten miles, though one day they marched nineteen and another day fourteen miles.

* Macaulay, Vol. I., p. 439.

† Macpherson, Vol. I., p. 419.

‡ Evelyn's Diary, p. 465. Ed. Wm. Bray.

§ Burnet, p. 395.

|| Dalrymple, Vol. I., Appendix to Part I., Book I., p. 158.

¶ War Office Marching Book, 1685, Vol. I., pp. 16-17, P.R.O.

They were ordered "to take care that the said companies behave themselves orderly, and pay their landlords, as also to make application to the Magistrates and Justices of the Peace for their assistance, as the occasion may require."

On the same day an order* was received for Sir James Leslie's company to march by the same route to Saltash, and from thence to Plymouth, there to relieve the Grenadier Company commanded by Captain Mathews, who was to join the four companies in their march to London.

After a short stay in London they were ordered to Staines and Egham, and on Monday, the 8th June, returned, by command, "to Chelsea, Kensington, and places adjacent." We have not been able to ascertain when the companies sent to Ireland rejoined the headquarters of the Regiment, nor where they were quartered when in Ireland. They appear to have remained in Ireland over the time of the Monmouth Rebellion, as only five companies took part in that campaign and the subsequent events.

A Court Martial was held on the 30th June, to try Ensign James Hilton for striking and wounding Captain Henry Rowe; both officers in the Regiment. The Court, after having heard and considered the evidence, also the answer and confession of Hilton, condemned him to lose his commission as punishment.†

The establishment of the Regiment, as given in the War Office Books on 1st of January,‡ was fixed as follows:—

THE TANGIER REGIMENT OF FOOT, CONSISTING OF 550 SOLDIERS, IN 11 COMPANIES OF 50 IN EACH COMPANY, BESIDES OFFICERS.

FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS.

						Per Diem.			Per Annum.		
						£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Colonel, as Colonel	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0	219	0	0
Lieutenant-Colonel, as Lieutenant-Colonel	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	0	127	15	0
Major, as Major...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	91	5	0
Chirurgion, 4s., and one Mate, 2s. 6d.	...	...	...	...	...	0	6	6	118	12	6
Adjutant...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0	73	0	0
Quartermaster and Marshal, to be executed by one person...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0	73	0	0
						1	18	6	702	12	6

* War Office Marching Book, 1685, Vol. I., pp. 17-18, P.R.O.

† War Office Court Martial Book, 1684-1704, P.R.O.

‡ War Office Establishment Book, 1684-1692, P.R.O.

ONE COMPANY.							Per Diem.			Per Annum.		
							£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Captain ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0	146	0	0
Lieutenant	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0	73	0	0
Ensign ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0	54	15	0
Two Sergeants, at 18d. each	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0	54	15	0
Three Corporals, at 12d. each...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0	54	15	0
One Drummer ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0	18	5	0
Fifty Private Soldiers, at 8d. each	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	13	4	608	6	8
							2	15	4	1,009	16	8
The pay of 9 Companies more, at the same												
rate as the Company above mentioned							24	18	0	9,088	10	0

ONE COMPANY OF GRENADIERS BELONGING TO THIS REGIMENT.

Captain ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0	146	0	0
Two Lieutenants, each 4s.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0	146	0	0
Three Sergeants, at 18d. each...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	6	82	2	6
Three Corporals, at 12d.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0	54	15	0
Two Drummers, at 12d. each	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0	36	10	0
Fifty Grenadiers, at 8d. each	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	13	4	608	6	8
							2	18	10	1,073	14	2
Total for this Regiment, with the Grenadiers							32	10	8	11,874	13	4

1684, Jan. 1.—Her Majesty the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot.

[Consist of the same number of companies, officers, and men, at the same rates of pay per diem and per annum; the only alteration therein being the entry of a chaplain, at the pay per diem of 6s. 8d., or £121 13s. 4d. per annum; the total of this Regiment, with this addition, being £32 17s. 4d., and £11,996 6s. 8d. per annum.]

On the same date was issued Regulations as to Weekly Subsistence of the Forces and Garrisons, which was as follows:—3s. 6d. to a private soldier, 4s. 6d. to a drummer, and 6s. to a sergeant. In the Regulation of "Rewards and other provisions for the Land Forces," one year's pay was given to an officer when the wound caused the loss of an eye, of a limb, or proportionate reward if the wound was not so serious.

All non-commissioned officers and soldiers disabled by wounds were to be provided for in Chelsea Hospital, in such manner as the King might direct, waiting which they were to receive an allowance of—private soldier, 5d. per diem; drummer and corporal, 7d.; sergeant, 11d. All soldiers who had served the Crown for twenty years were to be entitled to enter the Hospital if recommended by their officers.

King James did not open his reign well in his first speech to his Parliament, and his words foreshadowed the difficulties that were

likely to arise between the King, his Parliament, and the country. His disregard, also, of the prejudices of the English people (however wrong and injurious to the welfare of the country these prejudices might have been) by openly attending mass, with all the insignia of his dignity as King, was ill-calculated to induce confidence in his prudence and moderation. The Pope, and also Spain, through the Spanish ambassador, Ringuillo, advised the King moderation in his views; the latter was snubbed for his candour by the King, who observed to him, "Is it not the custom in Spain for the King to consult with his confessor?" to which the ambassador replied, "Yes, and it is for that very reason our affairs succeed so ill." * A very excellent reply from the minister of the country of the Inquisition! In the King's first speech to his Parliament † he intimated to them that he had resources in his kingly prerogative for enforcing the supplies he should require for his Government, if the Parliament did not settle his revenue during life, as in the time of his brother.

Parliament, after carefully considering all the circumstances, and conceiving that by not acceding to the King's demands the Crown would be placed in a state of dependence on the Parliament, while, by acceding to them, they, the Parliament, would gain the King's confidence and would secure the promises given them by him, unanimously voted to settle on the King, during his life, all the revenue enjoyed by his late brother. In doing so, they observed that the "House entirely relied on his Majesty's royal and repeated declarations to support the religion of the Church of England." ‡

The proceedings of James's first Parliament were brought to an abrupt close by an event which was to put the first test of the loyalty of the Parliament and people to their new King, and it gave the Regiment its first experience of service at home.

The Monmouth Rebellion, so abortive in its efforts, and so tragical in its close to the misguided man at the head of it, has been so often related that it is as familiar to students and readers of English history as any of the great events recorded; but it will not be out of place here to again tell the story, with the particulars of the part the Queen's Regiment took in it.

* History of England (Hume), Vol. VI., pp. 391-392.

† In the Dalrymple Memoirs, Appendix to Part I., Book II., p. 1, is a copy of a letter from Barillon to his master, Louis XIV., dated 9th February, in which he relates a conversation with King James, who informed him he had resolved to call a Parliament to assemble in the month of May, and that he intended to maintain himself in the enjoyment of the same revenues as the late King, his brother.

‡ Hume, Vol. V., pp. 396-397.

King James had, from the date of his accession, treated the Duke of Monmouth with suspicion and severity; and there is little doubt "that the straits to which he and his followers were reduced by this treatment in a great measure precipitated the attempt at revolution."

Argyle and his Scotch followers, impatient for action, urged the Duke on. It is certain that the unhappy Prince gave way against his better judgment, and was driven by the force of circumstances on to his fate.

The Duke had retired to Holland after the last escapade during his father's reign, and many marks of distinction and honour were bestowed upon him there by the Prince of Orange. On James's accession he retired for a time to Brussels.

The Duke, according to one account,* had, after his father's death, been expecting letters from the great men, his friends in England, and had neglected his friends in exile; so that when he came to Holland he found the latter in ill-humour with him. They considered he had not done his best for them with the late King after all they had suffered for his, the Duke's, sake. Monmouth, however, made his peace, and informed them he had been much disappointed at not receiving any message from his friends in England. A Mr. Cragg (*alias* Smith), who at last came out with messages from conspirators in England, brought news that, if the Duke and Argyle were in agreement together, so that they might act with united councils, any reasonable amount of money could be got and any quantity of assistance in men, "as there never was a greater spirit among the common people in England for one purpose."

This promise of assistance from England, and Argyle's insistence, hurried the Duke into the engagement which ended in his death. The Earl of Argyle had been hasty in communicating the design of the invasion to his Scottish friends, and had got together so many of them out of the Prince of Orange's Army, that he was (they being all in poor circumstances) obliged to begin his enterprise from his inability to support them, and also because the affair was being so dangerously talked about. Argyle's equipage was stated to consist of three small ships, about 8,000 arms, and 500 barrels of gunpowder.† In Scott's "British Army" a different estimate is given of the arms and ammunition—500 stand of arms and 300 barrels of gunpowder—but the author does not give his authority.‡

In the Harleian Manuscripts § is an account of the landing of the

* Wade's Confession. Harleian MSS., 6,845, Folios 264 to 282, B.

† Ibid.

‡ Scott's *British Army*, Vol. II., p. 467.

§ Harleian MSS., 6,845, Folios 264 to 282, B.M.

Duke, from which it appears that the three ships which brought him and his followers over from Holland were first observed at daylight on the 10th June, 1685, at a distance of about three leagues from Lyme, in Dorset. He had had great difficulties in equipping even this small expedition; for his emissaries, sent to England, had been so unsuccessful in obtaining money that he was obliged—as it was impossible to delay after Argyle's departure—to pawn all his goods and plate at Rotterdam. £3,000 was obtained by this means, and with this two small ships were equipped and loaded with 1,500 “foot arms,” 1,500 cuirasses, four pieces of artillery, mounted on field carriages, and about 200 barrels of gunpowder.

Another account * relates that the arms and ammunition consisted of 1,460 suits of defensive arms, 100 muskets and bandoleers, 500 pikes, as many swords, 250 barrels of powder, a small number of double carbines and pistols.

When they were ready to start it was seen that several of King James's men-of-war were cruising about the coast of Holland, so they were afraid to venture out. Three weeks were taken up in fitting a third ship of thirty-two guns, to provide which the Duke had, it is said by the narrator,† “to pawn all he had in the world, even his biggest George.” Some difficulty was experienced in shipping the arms without exciting suspicion; but, by pretending the shipment was from one of the United Provinces to the other, they got off, and afterwards “a little money prevailed with the searchers at Texel to let the ships pass.”

The cost of the ships and the expedition is stated to have been £5,500, only £1,000 having been subscribed by friends, the rest having been found by the Duke. The number of persons that sailed with the Duke, besides the Dutch seamen, was eighty-three.

The little fleet was three weeks in crossing from Amsterdam to the English coast, having been baffled by contrary winds. King James seems to have been well advised as to what was going on in Holland, corresponding frequently with the Prince of Orange. In one of his letters, after the departure of Monmouth's little fleet, the King writes that he sees by letters the Prince is vexed that the three ships, laden with arms and ammunition, had succeeded in getting away from Amsterdam, but that he hopes the Prince “will do his best that no more follow them, and that he will endeavour to know

* The Secret History of the Rye House Plot and of Monmouth's Rebellion, written by Lord Grey. London, 1685.

† Wade's Confession. Harleian MSS., 6,845, Folios 264 to 282, B.M.

whether the Duke of Monmouth be gone with them, or remains still in Holland, as it is reported." *

There is little doubt that the Prince of Orange was not entirely ignorant of what his fascinating guest was engaged in, but he gave no hint of it to the King. There is no doubt that he had little faith in, and did not desire, the success of Monmouth, which would have interfered with designs he had already secretly entertained. The Prince of Orange, in fact, was, with his usual foresight, laying out his own plans, and never lost sight of the hopes he had begun to entertain, of gaining the throne of England, from the time of the proposed exclusion of the Duke of York from the accession.

He allowed Monmouth in secret to continue his preparations, though professedly ignorant of them. It is easy to see that he had no faith in his succeeding, and had a strong belief that his father-in-law would not be long before he alienated the people from his rule by the arbitrary acts that even in his brother's reign had created so much trouble.

The half-hearted help that he in reality gave to the Duke proved that he desired more to make disturbances in England than to wish for his success. He is said to have kept up a correspondence with Monmouth, even after he landed, and until he proclaimed himself King. At the same time he was offering to give James assistance in England, which the King, in a letter from Whitehall of the 2nd June, wisely refused to accept. A manuscript note of Lord Dartmouth's on Bishop Burnet's history gives an excellent idea of the plans of the Prince. He writes:—"Fletcher told me he had good grounds to suspect that the Prince underhand encouraged the expedition, with design to ruin the Duke of Monmouth," and the historian † who quotes this adds that, "the authority was high, as Fletcher was in a position to know, and he was incapable of lying."

Dalrymple, in his memoirs, gives copies of a most interesting series of letters between James, his ministers, and the Prince of Orange, which throws much light on the conduct and aims of both Princes, but is too long to be quoted here. Barillon still continued at the Court of England, and intrigued with money and guile for his master's interests. King Louis wished the King to act without his Parliament, and even sent over a large sum of money to help James, but with instructions that it was not to be given to him unless he saw that Parliament was dissolved and the King of England reduced to make his subjects submit by force.‡

* Dalrymple, Appendix to Part I., Book II., Vol. II., p. 520.

† Macpherson, Vol. I., p. 443.

‡ Dalrymple, Vol. II., Appendix, p. 41.

Before relating the Monmouth events, it will be well to refer shortly to the part Argyle took in the Rebellion. The ships containing the Earl and the hopes of the Scots touched at Orkney, from whence intelligence was at once sent to King James of the arrival of the expedition. As soon as the King received the news he wrote to the Prince of Orange to send the three Scots Regiments in his service into Scotland, to help to quell the insurrection. The Prince desired to go with these Regiments to Scotland, but the King replied "that he did not consider the Rebellion in Scotland considerable enough for him to be troubled with it," and later on, when the Prince again offered his services, this time in England, after Monmouth had landed, the King again refused to trust him.*

Argyle had with him the staunch old Republican, Rumbold, and Ayloffe, the lawyer, who had been concerned in the great Whig Plot, but who is acquitted of being a party to the attempted assassination of the King and his brother.

On the 6th of May Argyle arrived, with his little fleet, off the Orkneys, having been four days on the voyage. Anchoring off Kirkwall, he sent on shore two of his followers, his secretary and physician, to get intelligence. They were captured by Bishop Mackenzie, and retained. After three days of dangerous delay in trying to get their release, the Earl went on to Argyleshire, where he hoped to be welcomed by his clan, and to obtain the "Heart of his Army." Alas! his three days at the Orkneys had been fatal to the expedition. The news of his arrival quickly spread, so that when he arrived at Dunstaffnage he found the heads of the clan had been taken to Edinburgh, or had fled, and those who remained were not favourable to his cause.

The Regulars and Militia were marched to the West, and though the Earl, from Campbelstown, on the southern extremity of Kintyre, issued his manifesto and sent round his fiery cross, he was too late.

Dissensions, too, which had commenced on the voyage, broke out again when the expedition had to determine on its plan of action.

Argyle had calculated on obtaining four or five thousand men soon after he landed, but the delay and the energetic measures taken to resist him had reduced the number he actually got to 1,800, which he divided into three Regiments.

This small force was, by divided councils, made into two smaller forces. One was sent into the Lowlands, with Hume and Cochrane; the other, with Argyle, remained in the Highlands.

* Dalrymple, Vol. II., Appendix, p. 23.

The intention of the Southern force was to go to Ayrshire, the stronghold of the Covenanters, who they hoped would willingly join them. They were obliged, by the vigilance of the King's frigates, to run up the estuary of the Clyde, and after a little unimportant skirmish at Greenock, finding it impossible to raise the Lowlanders, they rejoined Argyle. The Earl had, as was first proposed, to make an attempt to take Inverary, and from there, by raising the spirit of his clan, he hoped so to swell the ranks of his Army that he would be able to expel the Royal troops from the country, and make his territory the stronghold and his castle the citadel of the insurrection.

The stores and ammunition were landed at Ealaghierig, a castle at the mouth of Loch Riddan; the little squadron of ships were moored close to the castle walls, in shallows, where they fondly hoped no frigate could enter. A movement was then made, and the Earl had some little success against the Duke of Athol's troops.

Argyle was preparing to advance on Inverary when news came that the King's ships were close to his fleet, which was in danger of being taken. Argyle hastened back, but being again overruled in his desire to attack the King's ships, the whole Army passed by boats across Loch Long and landed in Dumbartonshire, where they heard on the following morning that their fleet had been taken, and the Castle of Ealaghierig, with all the stores, had fallen into the hands of the enemy. There was now nothing for it but to make a bold push for Glasgow.

They soon found their way barred by strong bodies of Royal troops, Regular and Militia. After enduring great hardships and having to march in the night, they lost their way and got into the bog, so that on arriving at Kirkpatrick they found their dispirited and broken little Army reduced to five hundred men. All was over; each man of the ill-fated expedition, which had from the first been torn with divided counsels, had to look to his own safety. Argyle was taken by a party of Militiamen, at Inchinnan, disguised in the dress of a peasant, and pretending to be the guide of Major Fullerton.* Two servants of Sir John Shaw, it is stated by another authority,† were the instruments in his capture, and the incident is related thus: The Earl was riding by himself, having sent away the two servants who were with him, thinking it safer to be alone, when the two men, envying him his horse, tried to rob him of it. The Earl only thinking they wanted to capture him, fought with them; a drunken weaver living near, awakened by the noise, joined in the fray, and on the Earl, who had taken to the water, attempting to fire on him with his pistol,

* Macaulay, Vol. I., p. 559.

† Fountanshall Historical Observer, p. 181.

which, being wet, missed fire, the weaver hit him on the head with his rusty sword, and he fell into the water, crying, "Ah, unfortunate Argyle." His end was worthy such a gallant gentleman; he met his fate nobly. Rumbold was captured, writes Fountanshall,* at Lasurehago, by Hamilton the younger, of Raploch, and his Militiamen. He fought bravely, and after badly wounding several of his assailants, a countryman came behind him and turned his steel cap off his head, on which he exclaimed, "O, cruel countryman, to use me thus when my face was to mine enemy." He was mortally wounded before they could take him, but lived to be executed within a short time after his capture, dying like the brave soldier that he was. Ayloffé was taken to London and executed before the Gate of the Temple.

The first news of Monmouth's landing was contained in a letter directed to Mr. James Curryer, Ilminster, Somersetshire, which had been intercepted on the 30th May, at the post-house there, by Captain Speke and the Rev. Clarke, the vicar. This letter advised honest Protestants forthwith "to prepare and make themselves very ready," for a certain person was expected to land in the West, and that all were to be prepared to assist him.† The letter also warned the correspondent that the Court had notice of the proposed landing, and had sent orders to apprehend suspected persons.

Captain Speke at once posted off with this letter to the King, and sent notice of the discovery to the Mayor of Taunton, directing him to search the post-bag there. The notice came so late that all the letters to suspected persons had been delivered except eight; one of these warned the authorities against the landing‡ and sending instructions to secure the persons of those "disaffected to our present Government."

This letter was dated from St. James's, 28th May, 1685, and intercepted at Taunton on the 30th May.

On the 13th June Sir William Portman and Colonel Strangeways arrived from London, bringing with them particular instructions from the King to at once "do all and all manner of acts and things concerning the Militia in the said counties (Dorset and Somerset), and to conduct and march with all or any part of the said Militia into any other county or counties, as our service shall require." A memo. in the same paper states, "that most of the Red Regiment, commanded by Colonel Strangeways, came to Bridport on Saturday, the 13th, and most of the Yellow Regiment, belonging to Sir William Portman, came thither Sunday, before noon, the 14th."

* Chron. Notes of Scottish Affairs, Fountanshall, p. 53.

† Harleian MSS., 6,845, Folios 264 to 282, B.M. ‡ Ibid.

CHAPTER II.

LANDING OF DUKE OF MONMOUTH,
AND EVENTS IN 1685 AND 1686.

CONTENTS.—Landing of Duke of Monmouth—The Queen's Regiment ordered to the West—Formation of Monmouth's Army after the landing—Attacks Bridport—Arrival at Axminster, and Skirmish there—Monmouth proclaimed King at Taunton, and his declaration—The "Queen's" ordered to Salisbury with Troops under command of Lord Churchill—Henry Sheres ordered to take Artillery to the West—Lord Feversham ordered to command all the Forces sent against Monmouth—His disposition of the Troops—Monmouth arrives at Glastonbury—Skirmish at Keynsham—Battle at Phillip's Norton—Monmouth at Frome and Bridgewater—Feversham arrives at Sedgemoor—Disposition of his Forces there—Battle of Sedgemoor—Retreat, Capture, and Death of Monmouth—Kirk's action after Sedgemoor—His character—Captain Barber's and Sir James Leslie's Companies ordered to join Regiment—Regiment ordered to Plymouth—Queen Consort's Regiment (4th) ordered to Taunton—The "Queen's" ordered to Kingston.

At noon, on Friday, the 12th June, news was brought to Taunton of the Duke's landing. The information was at once sent to the Duke of Albemarle (son of the first Duke, General Monk), at Exeter. The Duke of Albemarle sent an account of the landing to the Earl of Sunderland, who replied to his note next day, informing him that the King commands him to say Monmouth's forces are not nearly so great as the Mayor of Lyme represents them to be. The minister further informed the Duke of Albemarle that the King had ordered four troops of Horse, two troops of Dragoons, and five companies of Foot, to march immediately to Salisbury, "and to assist the Lord-Lieutenant of the counties thereabouts, as His Majesty's Service should require. They would be there on Sunday, Colonel Kirk with them."* The next day Colonel Lutterel, who was with the Duke of Albemarle at Exeter, came to Taunton, and, on Sunday the 14th, hearing that Monmouth's Army was on the way to attack them, marched out of town with his Regiment to meet him.

* Domestic Entry Book, 1679-1688, P.R.O.

Lord Rochester wrote to the Prince of Orange, on the 16th June, giving him the news of Monmouth's landing, and of the Declarations he had made to the people, which he calls "the most villainous and abominable in its language, as well as traitorous, that ever was put before the country. . . . There is not under the sun a worse man." Rochester also gives the Prince an account of what the King had ordered to be done to meet the emergency.* The King himself wrote to the Prince on the 15th, giving full particulars of what he had done, and of the first brush of his troops with the Rebels on the Saturday following the landing. He informed the Prince of the Duke's Declaration, which he had had burnt by the hand of the hangman. "Sure, there was never a more lying, malicious paper than that," he writes.† On the 17th he wrote again, informing him that Monmouth had "opened his way" to Taunton, but he makes no doubt of ultimately mastering him. To make sure, he requests the Prince to lend him the three English Regiments which were in the Prince's service, "with all possible speed." In his further letters, dated the 19th, 23rd and 30th, he follows up the account of Monmouth's proceedings and his efforts to crush him.

Monmouth had met with no opposition at his landing, on the strand, near Lyme. About sunset the little party marched into the town, where they were received with shouts and acclamations by the townspeople. The Mayor had fled.

A very circumstantial account is given of the Duke of Monmouth's landing, in the Harleian MSS., by an inhabitant of Lyme, who, after seeing the Duke and his forces landed, and that no resistance was made by the townspeople, made his escape in company with another, and hastening to Crewkerne, they sent off notices to the Duke of Albemarle, at Exeter, another to Sir E. Phillips and Colonel Lutterel, at Taunton; they then hastened to London, warning all the towns as they passed up of what was taking place. Upon arriving in London they went to Sir Winston Churchill, one of the Burgesses of Lyme, who, with his son, Lord Churchill, afterwards the famous Duke of Marlborough, at once went to the King to acquaint him with the news.

The King afterwards saw the two loyal citizens of Lyme, and heard the account from them at about four o'clock on Saturday morning. A Council was then called. They had to repeat their story.‡

* Home Office, King William's Chest (formerly Sealed Bag), 1670-1688, No. 1,

† Ibid., No. 3. [P.R.O.]

‡ An exact relation of the Duke of Monmouth's proceedings on the day of his landing at Lyme. Harleian MSS., 6,845, Folio 252, B.M.

Orders were at once issued for troops in London to begin their march to the West. Mr. Phillip Kirk carried the dispatches from Lord Sunderland to Lord Churchill. The minister informed the latter that some little alteration had been made in the arrangements from those first intended, but that nothing had been done "to his prejudice." The troops were to be under the orders of Lord Churchill, and the minister wrote that "he was not willing to let the orders go without a letter accompanying them from himself, that he might wish his Lordship all success." *

The order to the Queen Dowager's Regiment was as follows:—†

FIVE COMPANIES QUEEN DOWAGER'S REGIMENT TO MARCH TO OXFORD.

Our Will and pleasure is, That the five companies of our dearest Sister, the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot, now at Chelsea, Kensington, and Knightsbridge, do march from thence according to the Rout, hereinto annexed, to our City of Oxford, where they are to remain until further orders. And the Officers are to take care that the soldiers behave themselves orderly, in their march and pay their Landlords. As also to make application to the Magistrates, and Justices of the Peace, for their assistance as the occasion shall require.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 12th Day of June, 1685, in the first year of our reign.

To our Trusty, and well beloved Piercy Kirk, Esq., Colonell of our dearest Sister, the Queen Dowager's Reg^t. of Foot. And, in his absence, to the Officer in Chief commanding y^e reg^t. or with those companies.

By his Majeste's Command,
W. B.

ROUTE FOR FIVE COMPANIES OF QUEEN DOWAGER'S REGIMENT OF FOOT, FROM CHELSEA, KENSINGTON, AND KNIGHTSBRIDGE, TO OXFORD.

Places of Lodging.	Rest.	Miles.	Daies of the Week.	Daies of the Month.
Staines	—	15	Saturday...	June 13th, 1685.
Maidenhead...	—	10	Sunday ...	" 14th "
Henley	—	10	Monday ...	" 15th "
Wallingford...	—	10	Tuesday ...	" 16th "
Oxford	—	12	Wednesday	" 17th "

Another order followed next day to Colonel Kirk, informing him that the five companies of the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot, "whereof you, Thomas St. Johns, George Wingfield, Charles Wingfield, and William Mathews, Esqs., are Captains, upon their arrival at Staines and Egham do forthwith march, with the best expedition they can, to Salisbury, where they are to remain until further orders." ‡

By daylight, on Friday, the 12th, all the arms and ammunition

* Dom. Entry Book, 1679-1688.

† War Office Marching Book, 1683, Vol. I., p. 37.

‡ War Office Marching Book, 1685, Vol. I., p. 39.

brought with the Duke of Monmouth had been landed, and, as by this time the news had spread abroad, great numbers of men came in and were at once clothed and armed.

The Duke, before landing, had taken the precaution to send on shore Mr. Thomas Dare and Colonel Venner with instructions to go to Taunton and try to raise that place. They were also ordered to bring what recruits they could to Lyme.

The first skirmish between the Rebels and the King's troops took place at Bridport on Friday; the Duke, having heard that there were a number of men ready to join him who were unable to get through the guard of constables, sent Major Manby with fifteen troopers, principally composed of the gentlemen who came over with him, to bring them off. The little party found, on arrival at Bridport, that their friends were not only guarded by constables, but by a troop of Militia Horse. Nothing daunted, they charged, killing two of the Militia; but finding they were supported with greater force, Manby retreated to Lyme without any casualty to his party.

On Friday night the Duke marched out of Lyme, with about 800 Foot, 150 Horse, and three pieces of Cannon. Expecting an attack from the Duke of Albemarle, the troops bivouacked on the ground, "with their arms in rank and file, and ye horsemen on ye ground, holding their bridles in their hands, as their horses stood in squadron." *

The night passed without attack. In the morning, Saturday 13th, Mr. Dare returned with forty horsemen, "pretty well mounted, but few of them armed, and all but ordinary fellows; but Dare himself had got well mounted." He brought news that the Somerset Militia guarded Taunton and kept it from rising.

This day the first misfortune befel the Duke, in consequence of a quarrel which took place between Fletcher and Dare over the horse ridden by the latter, and which Fletcher, either by design or mistake, had appropriated.

Dare was shot by Fletcher, and the latter was at once sent by the Duke a prisoner on one of the ships.

The loss of these two gentlemen was a great grief to the Duke, Dare being his private secretary, and Fletcher, whom Hume calls "a man of signal probity and fine genius," was his best Cavalry officer—a Lieutenant-Colonel and second in command to Lord Grey.

Before the day was over the Duke's Regiment, under the command of Wade, was formed, and consisted of about 500 men. Colonel Holmes' Regiment was also formed, made up of about the same number;

* Harleian MSS., 6,845, Fol. 275, B.M. Wade's Further Confession.

Colonel Fowke's Regiment numbered 350 men. The Yellow Regiment was also commenced, under the command of Major Fox (afterwards commanded by Mathews).

In the evening, a detachment of 400 Foot and forty Horse, under the command of Colonel Venner, was ordered by the Duke to march at night to Bridport. At daybreak, on Sunday morning, they were to attack the Dorsetshire Militia at that place.

They were successful in surprising the town, their approach being concealed by a thick mist, and no proper precautions had been taken against surprise by the Royal troops.

The King's forces were reputed to be at least 1,200 Foot and 150 Horse. A letter, dated 13th June, from the minister, Sunderland, to Albemarle, acknowledges receipt of letters from the Duke dated 12th inst., informing him of Monmouth's having landed and giving estimate of the forces he had with him. King James evidently, from this letter, did not believe that Monmouth had so many men with him as had been reported. Albemarle was informed of the measures that had been taken to send down Regular troops and to embody the Militia in the West Counties. The Regular forces advised of being sent to Salisbury consisted of four troops of Horse, two of Dragoons, and five companies of Foot (the Queen's).

Venner failed in carrying the second bridge in the town of Bridport, and the Horse, commanded by Lord Grey, having retreated (according to Wade's account somewhat ignominiously), the Foot were unable to gain further ground; they therefore retreated in good order, bringing away with them twelve or fourteen prisoners and about thirty horses. Colonel Venner was wounded by a shot in the groin.

The Duke met the Foot as they returned to Lyme, and was surprised to find them marching intact, as, from the precipitate return of the Horse under Lord Grey, he had anticipated disaster.

There was little rest for the army this night; the Duke was anxious to march the whole force, having heard that the Duke of Albemarle, with the Devonshire and Somerset Militia, was advancing against them. Colonel Venner being wounded, Wade was given the command of his regiment by the Duke.

On Monday, at about ten o'clock, Monmouth left Lyme on his fatal journey. His forces had increased to about 3,000 men and horse. A manuscript* in the British Museum gives the following details of the numbers of troops, but does not give the date when the muster was taken :—

" Horse	600
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* Confession of Nathaniel Wade, July 29th, 1685, Harleian MSS., 6,845, Folio 277, B.M.

Blue Regiment of Foot	...	600
White Regiment	„ ...	100
Red	„ „ ...	800
Green	„ „ ...	600
Yellow	„ „ ...	500
An independent company...		80 "

In about two hours they arrived on the outskirts of Axminster, where they came upon two bodies of Militiamen belonging to Devonshire and Somersetshire, who were marching to join their regiments. The scouts of the Somersetshire Regiment had just entered the town, when the Duke, advancing quickly, drove them back, possessing himself of the place. The Militia were compelled to retreat, in some disorder and precipitancy.

The Duke stopped his troops from pursuing, telling them "it was not his business to fight at present."

He then passed through the town of Axminster, and posted himself in an advantageous position just beyond it.

The next day, Tuesday, they marched to Chard, and here Fergusson first proposed to proclaim Monmouth King, but it was not done till they arrived at Taunton, at which place, after a night's rest at Ilminster, they arrived on Friday.

This town had been all along very favourably disposed to the Duke's cause. On his arrival there he was welcomed with enthusiasm.

Great preparations had been made for him, and he received a considerable augmentation of his troops, Colonel Passet's Regiment, 800 Foot, having joined here. The day after the Duke arrived he was presented with colours by twenty-six young maids, led by a Miss Sarah Blake, who carried in one hand a naked sword and in the other a small, curious Bible, which she delivered to the Duke, with a little speech. He received these emblematical expressions of attachment with great pleasure, and replied that he came now into the field to defend the truths contained therein, and to seal the cause with his blood, if there should be occasion for it.*

Here the Duke was proclaimed King, and issued several proclamations. Several of the prominent members of his Army, including Wade, were strongly against this really stupid blunder, but they were overruled by Lord Grey and others. News of this, as of all the events of the march, was sent to London by Albemarle. The assumption of the title of King, after he had only a week before † solemnly bound

* Pitt's new Marlyrology, pp. 251-252; and Fox's History of James II., p. 230.

† Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, p. 702.

himself not to take the Crown till a free Parliament offered it to him, was rightly considered a breach of faith and "merely specimens of folly and impertinence."*

The declaration of Monmouth, on assuming the title of King, was drawn out with much force and ability by Furgusson, and was read at the High Cross, after he had again been proclaimed by Papham, the Mayor.

This declaration began by calling King James's Government an invasion of the rights and privileges of England, and the King an usurper; and, after referring to the Duke of York and the rest of the "conspirators against our Government," proceeded to charge them with the burning of London and the shameful quitting of Tangiers. It then declared "James," Duke of York, "a Traitor to the Nation," and promised to bring the said James, Duke of York, to such punishment as, by the laws of God and nature, was due. The document finished by giving a number of declared promises, comprising, amidst others, "Annual Parliaments, Judges to be appointed by Parliament, a convenient means to be found for regulating abuses of the Privy Council, and that Cities and Corporations should be restored to their ancient Charters and Freedom."

King James, on the 17th June, wrote to the Prince of Orange that he thought the Militia would have shut the Duke up in Lyme, but they had allowed him to escape to Taunton; he therefore desired him to send over the three English regiments in his service with all possible speed.

The day before this the Duke of Somerset sent a dispatch to the Earl of Sunderland, from Wells, in which he informed him that "the Duke of Albemarle was to be on the hills before Lyme with 10,000 men," and that he hoped the King could spare some forces, as the common people would rise everywhere if they dared.† The Duke of Albemarle wrote, on the 18th, the day Monmouth entered Taunton, from near Axminster, that he would march early next morning towards the enemy, and would send to Lord Churchill, who was resting his troops at Axminster.

As soon as news had been received of Monmouth's landing, Churchill, who had just been raised to the Peerage, and was now in his thirty-fifth year, received orders to command a force consisting of four troops of the Earl of Oxford's Horse, two troops of the King's Regiment of Dragoons, five companies of the Queen Dowager's

* Macaulay, Vol. I., p. 589.

† Sackville Papers. Historical MSS., Commission, Ninth Report, p. 2.

Regiment, and four companies of the Queen's Regiment. His orders were to proceed on the 15th to Salisbury.*

A dispatch † had been sent to Kirk on the 15th June, as follows :—

"Whereas, we have ordered five companies of our Dearest Sister, the Queen Dowager's Regiment, under your command, to repair to our City of Salisbury, where they are to expect our further orders, we do hereby signify our will and pleasure, that the said companies be commanded by our right trusty and well beloved John, Lord Churchill, in all things according to the rules and discipline of war."

An order had also been sent to "Pendennis," on the 13th, to recruit Captain Barber's company, which was to be left there, up to 100 with the addition of one sergeant and a drummer.

The order to Lord Churchill was as follows :—

"My Lord Churchill to command the forces.

"Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well.

"Whereas, we have ordered four troops of Horse, in our Royal Regiment of Horse; five companies, in our dearest Sister, the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot; four companies in the Regiment of our dearest Consort, the Queen, and two troops of our Royal Regiment of Dragoons, to march forthwith to our City of Salisbury; our Royal will and pleasure is that you repair to our said City and take the said forces under your command. And we do accordingly hereby give you full power and authority to conduct, order, and command, all the said forces, with a train of Artillery, appointed by us according to the use of War. And we do likewise hereby charge and command the several officers and soldiers of our forces above mentioned to obey you in all things accordingly. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 15th day of June, 1685, &c.

"By his Majes^{ties} command,

"W. B.

"To our Trusty and Well-beloved John, Lord Churchill, Colonel of our Royal Regiment of Dragoons."

A gentleman who left London on the 12th of June, relates that he "overtook five companies of Foot (at Salisbury), with eight pieces of cannon and ammunition, on Friday, and the next day, Saturday, 20th June, he overtook (at Dorchester) Colonel Kirk's Regiment of Foot, who, with sixty lords and gentlemen with him, each horsed and armed, marched Sunday all day to Chard, being informed that Monmouth was then at Taunton; but news coming that he had gone to Bridgewater, all the forces at Chard, about 2,500, Lord Oxford's Regiment of Volunteers, about 100, intended to join forces with the Duke of Albemarle, who with about 10,000 lay at Williton, and so to fight him as soon as possible." ‡

* This order for the four companies of the Queen Consort's Regiment (the Fourth) appears to have been a little changed. See order, p. 23, for the Regiment to convoy the train of Artillery.

† Marching Orders, Vol. I., p. 49, P.R.O.

‡ Historical MSS., Commission, Sixth Report. MSS. of J. J. Rogers, Esq., of Penrose, Cornwall.

The first encounter of the Regular troops with the Rebels took place about two miles from Taunton. A party, commanded by Lieutenant Monaux, consisting of seventy men and the Quartermaster of Oxford's Regiment, came upon a party of the Rebels of about a similar number, and, charging them, killed twelve and wounded others; but, perceiving a further party of the enemy near, they retired, with the loss of their gallant leader and three men wounded.*

Two warrants for the supply of Artillery for the forces of the West had been sent to Lord Dartmouth, Master General of the Ordnance. The first, dated 16th June, ordered a train of Artillery, consisting of eight pieces of ordnance, to be got ready, the train to consist of "four pieces of iron nealed and turned, and four brass falcons," with all the requisite stores and ammunition. The second warrant ordered a train of sixteen pieces of ordnance, consisting of two twelve-pounders, four demi-culverins, four six-pounders, four sakers, and two minions, with forty round and fifteen case shot for each gun.†

The train, which was to be under the command of our old Tangiers friend, Henry Sheres, was to march as quickly as possible to Chippenham, and place themselves at once under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief.

To transport the train, 1,500 horses and sixty wagons were hired. ‡ Five companies of the Second Tangiers Regiment (Trelawney's) (the Fourth, or Queen Consort's Regiment), in garrison at Portsmouth, were to convoy the train, and to join the King's Army in the West.

On Saturday, 20th June, Lord Feversham, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the King's Army in the West, left London, with a party consisting of 150 Guards and sixty Grenadiers, § arriving on the 21st at Maidenhead. He at once dispatched Colonel Ogleshorpe with a party of fifty Guards and Grenadiers, by Andover and Westminster, to find out where Monmouth was, and his strength, Feversham following the same night to Newbury. On the 23rd he reached Bristol, where he joined the Dukes of Somerset and Beaufort, with the Somersetshire and Gloucester Militia. He spent the afternoon of

* *London Gazette*, June 18th to 22nd.

† A Saker (or Saikyr) was a piece of ordnance smaller than a demi-culverin, much employed in sieges, and a minion a small gun of a calibre of about three inches.

‡ Scott's *British Army*, Vol. III., pp. 318-319.

§ Sackville Papers. Historical MSS., Commission, Ninth Report, p. 3. Sir Frederick Hamilton says (*History of the Grenadier Guards*) that this party consisted of two battalions of the First Guards, of six and seven companies each, to one of Coldstreams, under the command of the Duke of Grafton and Major Eaton.

that day in viewing the city. On Wednesday, the 24th, about four o'clock in the morning, he marched to Bath, where he was joined by a troop of Lord Oxford's Horse and two troops of Dragoons. Colonel Oglethorpe here came in with an account of the Rebels being at Shepton Mallet the night before, and was sent back for further information, and to observe the enemy's march towards Phillip's Norton. His small party of Horse being reinforced by forty troopers from Colonel Talbot's Militia, Feversham himself rode out the same afternoon towards Phillip's Norton, learning from some of the market people he met that Monmouth had that day been proclaimed King, at Frome, and that the proclamation put up in the market place there had been torn down by Lord Pembroke and his Wiltshire Militiamen in spite of the opposition of above a thousand inhabitants of that town and Warminster, who were in arms to oppose them.* At twelve, midnight, Feversham had news from Colonel Oglethorpe that Monmouth was at Pensford, a few miles from Bristol; he therefore returned there with all haste, and at four or five o'clock the next morning took up a position near the south gate of the city, being several times threatened by Monmouth's Horse. In the meantime the Duke had marched from Taunton to Bridgewater, arriving there on Sunday, the 21st.

On the following day he was at Glastonbury, where he quartered his Foot in the old abbey and the church. The march from Bridgewater had been a most distressing one, torrents of rain falling; the troops had also been harassed by a party of Lord Oxford's Horse, which hung on their rear. They remained all day and night at Glastonbury, lighting fires in the old abbey to dry their clothes, and on the next day they marched through Wells to Shepton Mallet.

Here a Council of War was held, and it was resolved to try and possess themselves of the important town of Bristol, which they were credibly informed was defended only by the Duke of Beaufort, with his Gloucestershire Militia. Monmouth calculated that if he arrived at Bristol before the Royal troops reinforced the garrison there, he could easily overcome the Gloucestershire train bands, even if they did not declare for him. He therefore decided, by Wade's advice,† to attack Bristol on the Gloucestershire side, crossing the River Avon at Keynsham Bridge, a place about midway between Bath and Bristol. On Wednesday, 24th, they encamped at Pensford, near Bristol.

The movements of the Rebels had been accurately observed by the

* Sackville Papers. Historical MSS., Commission, Ninth Report, p. 3.

† Wade's Confession. Harleian MSS., 6,845, Folio 278, B.M.

Horse under Colonel Oglethorpe, and information was at once dispatched to the Commander-in-Chief at Bath.

Monmouth, on his arrival at Pensford, sent on a party of Horse, under the command of Captain Tily, towards Bristol, with orders to hold Keynsham, and to repair the bridge there (which the Militia had broken down) for the passage of the Army. At sunrise he marched to Keynsham, and with his whole Army crossed the bridge; but the weather proving very wet, and being counselled by "those in our camp, who perfectly understood y^e City,"* they resolved to rest at Keynsham town till night.

Here they were attacked by Colonel Oglethorpe's party of Horse, who gallantly charged the Rebel Foot, escaping with the loss of only four men, but killing fourteen of the Rebels, including a Captain Parker of the Horse. One of the party of the King's Horse was captured in this skirmish, and from him the Duke learned that the King's Army, 4,000 strong, was close at hand. Upon this information it was decided for the present to abandon the attack on Bristol and go towards Wiltshire, where they were informed by Mr. Adlam a considerable body of Horse would join them.

As soon as night came they marched towards Bath, and encamped on the side of a hill, the north side, above the town. They summoned the town to surrender, Wade says, "in bravado, for we had no expectation of its surrendering." Then they went on, without delay, to Phillip's Norton. Feversham, informed of every move of Monmouth's, had returned by the north side of the town into Bath, and was there joined by the Duke of Grafton, with the Guards, and by Lord Churchill with his forces, including the Queen's Regiment under Kirk. All the King's troops had now joined hands, and the net was gradually tightening over the unfortunate and misguided Pretender.

On Saturday, the 27th, Feversham paraded his whole force in a meadow near the town, and, after an inspection of the troops, a march was ordered to Phillip's Norton, the advanced party being composed of the Dragoons, some other Horse, and 500 "Musqueteers," commanded by the Duke of Grafton and Lieutenant-Colonel Kirk.†

This advanced party was to hasten on and endeavour to fall upon the rear of the Rebels; the remainder of the troops, with the guns, followed the same day.

* Wade's Confession. Harleian MSS., 6,845, Folio 278, B.M.

† The Sackville MSS. are the authority for this, so it is presumed that the five companies of the Queen's were with Kirk in this advance party. Other historians give the party as composed of Guardsmen only (Sir Fred. Hamilton's *History of Grenadier Guards*, Vol. I., p. 274).

The Duke of Monmouth by this time had begun almost to despair of his cause, for, though multitudes of the common people had enthusiastically flocked to his standard, not a single influential person or nobleman of position had joined, nor had any of the King's Regiments, who he had been assured would speedily come into his camp, joined him.

He had no money nor arms to give his recruits, and his heart failed him so, that for a time he could give no orders nor make any plans.

The vanguard of the King's Army came upon the rear of the Rebels as they were leaving the town of Phillip's Norton. Feversham had sent on a small party the night before to reconnoitre, and the vanguard met this party returning. Being dissatisfied with their report, the Commander-in-Chief ordered them back, with instructions that they were not to return until they had been shot at, so that he might certainly know where the Rebels lay. One of the party soon returned with the news that they were engaged with the enemy. Captain Hawly, with forty-five Grenadiers, was therefore sent to their assistance, the Duke of Grafton accompanying him. The Duke of Monmouth had well protected his position. The advance to the town was through a lane, a quarter of a mile long. He had lined the hedges on each side of the lane with his Foot; at the end a barricade had been erected, behind which he posted fifty musketeers. A way just by the barricade, through a gentleman's court, led to two fields, and here the Rebel Foot were encamped. The fight in this lane became so hot that assistance was sent for, and a party of Horse, under the command of Captains Parker and Vaughan, and some more Foot, under the command of Captain Rupert, hastened to reinforce them.

By this time Monmouth, feeling the strength of his position, brought Horse and Foot into the lane and into the fields and passages that led to it. The Duke of Grafton and Captain Hawly, being almost surrounded, charged through the Rebel Horse and Foot and escaped through the passages that led to the lane; the Horse and Foot that had come to their assistance also fighting their way back. During the fight Lord Churchill had come up with his Horse and Foot, and, parting the Dragoons at the mouth of the lane, lined the hedges with his Foot. They were immediately attacked with impetuosity by Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes, who brought his regiment up in gallant style. Lord Feversham, who now arrived, seeing that the King's troops were in danger, ordered them to retire to a position he had taken up in a field about 500 paces from the end of the lane, where, with his guns, brought with his advanced party, he opened fire on the Rebels. Monmouth by this time had posted two guns at the throat of the lane and two on a little eminence on the right side of it. A

little Artillery duel now began, which lasted some hours, neither Army feeling inclined to advance to attack. About four p.m. Lord Feversham ordered his force to retire, which they did, entirely unmolested by the Rebels.

According to Wade's account, Monmouth was meditating an attack when the retreat began, but had so little confidence in his Horse that they did not pursue. Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes was badly wounded in the fight, one of his arms being shot to pieces. Both Armies were in a dreadful plight, as the rain had fallen continuously all day.* King James, writing an account of this action to the Prince of Orange on the 30th of June, gives the loss of men on the side of the Royalists as seven or eight men killed and some twenty wounded.† Feversham now marched to Bradford, leaving Colonel Oglethorpe with 100 Horse to watch the movements of the Rebels, resting there all Sunday "to clean our arms and recover from the fatigue of the foregoing day." From Bradford Feversham sent a letter to the King, in which he gave an account of the skirmish at Phillip's Norton. In his letter he writes that, "though he is sorry the account is not as good as he could have wished, yet he stopped the enemies' march." He further writes that the loss in the King's Army was so small that he does not call it a loss, and congratulates himself that he had not lost a single officer.

Monmouth now marched to Frome, where he arrived at eight a.m. in a wretched plight, and so disheartened that it was with difficulty he was persuaded to continue the enterprise. His desperate condition was rendered still more gloomy by the news which he there received of the utter collapse of the expedition of Argyle, and the capture of this chief and his followers. The Rebels rested all Sunday and Monday at Frome. They were much disappointed by the non-arrival of the reinforcements they had been led to expect were going to join them there. On Tuesday the Duke ordered a march to Warminster, but, hearing that Feversham was at Westbury, he changed his plans and went on to Shepton Mallet, and on Wednesday, 1st July, he marched to Wells. A false report that had been brought to him, of a large force of 10,000 men on their way to join him if he would proceed towards them, guided his march; but on Tuesday morning, when on his way to Bridgewater, he met this Army, which proved to be only 160 men. Monmouth camped on the moor outside the town, and on Friday he entered Bridgewater.

* Wade's Confession. Harleian MSS., 6,845, Folio 278, B.M. ; and *London Gazette*, July 2nd, 1685 ; also Sackville Papers, Historical MSS., Ninth Report, p. 3.

† Home Office, King William's Chest (formerly Sealed Bag), 1674-1686. No. 3.

Saturday was spent in drilling and seeing to the arms, and making preparation for the serious work they had before them.

Feversham, on the 29th—Monday—marched to Westbury, from where he again wrote to the King that he was following the Rebels up and intended to be the next day at Frome. The train of Artillery had by this time joined Feversham, as we find from a letter * dated 30th June, "Westburrough," from Henry Sheres to Lord Dartmouth, in which he relates that the Commander-in-Chief had just sent for him to tell him he thought it best to let the heavy cannon remain for the present at Devizes, under a guard, as "the Enemies' motions are so very irregular," and that the country, being so enclosed, it would greatly impede the march of the King's troops if the cannon accompany them. Sheres complains of the excess of his work, writing:—"I am toyl'd to death, and if this lasts 'tis not to be supported. I am made a Secretary of War, a governour of carriages of sick and wounded, a commissary of provisions, and all besides y^e peculiar care of my charge in y^e service."

On 1st July—next day—Sheres writes again a long letter † to Lord Dartmouth, in which he complains of Colonel Kirk's treatment of him, in ordering him to come for orders himself when he was lame and unable to walk. There seems to have been some ill-feeling between the two, dating, no doubt, from old times in Tangiers.

It appears that another Tangiers worthy, Thomas Povey, had arrived to assist in the service of the Artillery. In a letter Henry Sheres refers to the enemy having taken, at Wells, a wagon belonging to the Queen Dowager's Regiment, containing arms, ammunition, and money; he also wrote that Kirk pretended he left the wagon there "because he was forced to lend us his horses for the cannon," and which "Shears" avers was not true. He gives, on the evidence of some gentlemen who had been taken prisoners, an account that the King's cannon did great execution amongst the Rebels at the skirmish or fight at Phillip's Norton. The last letter from Sheres to Lord Dartmouth is on the eve of the fight at Sedgemoor, and is dated "From y^e Camp, near Sommerton, 4th July, 1685." In this letter he again complains of his treatment by Kirk, and says he has complained to the General, and told him that unless he and the officers of the Artillery train were given better quarters and treated according to their rank, he would be constrained to give up his commission.

The King wrote again to the Prince of Orange on 3rd July. In this letter he acknowledges the receipt of a letter from the Prince, dated 6th, in which he informs him that the English regiments were

* Dartmouth MSS., 1685-1687.

† Ibid.

to be shipped "the beginning of this week." The King writes:—"If they be but as good as the Scots Regiment (1st Royals) which I saw this morning I shall be doubly pleased, for as to these I have seen there cannot be, I am sure, better men than they are, and they do truly look like old regiments, and one cannot be better pleased with them than I am." *

Captain Coy, having made a reconnaissance within half a mile of Bridgewater, reported that the Rebels had broken the bridge there, and were doing all they could to fortify themselves. Captain Coy was nearly taken prisoner by a party of the Rebel Horse he fell in with; but charging pluckily through them, he, with his party, came off with only the loss of the leader's horse. Sheres' note, sending this information, was written "upon my saddle in the field."

Feversham arrived at Westbury on Tuesday, with the rest of his Artillery—eighteen pieces of cannon—resting all Wednesday there, proceeding in the evening to Shepton Mallet, and the following day by Glastonbury to Somerton.

Spies sent into Bridgewater returned with the news that the Rebels were there, and that they had made a barricade at the bridge, planted two of their cannon at the cross, two in the castle, and one in Southgate.

On Sunday morning Feversham marched from Somerton towards Bridgewater, passing along Sedgemoor, intending to encamp at Midleray, but Colonel Ramsey, who had been sent on before to look out for a safe and suitable camp, chose a spot just in front of Weston Zoyland, between which and the moor ran a ditch called the Bussexrhine. This ditch covered the King's Army from a front attack, room being left between the ditch and the camp for the troops to form up. The Cavalry were posted in the village of Weston Zoyland; the Artillery were placed on the left of the line of Infantry, fronting the road from Bridgewater to Weston.

Feversham took some precautions to guard his camp—and to watch Monmouth's movements—though, as the result proved, these precautions were not sufficient.

Colonel Oglethorpe was sent with a party of Horse to the top of a hill on the road to Bristol, to see that Monmouth did not pass that way. Spies had brought word that he had passed out of the town and was encamped in a meadow called "Castle Field," close by the river.

Monmouth had indeed formed an intention of moving from Bridgewater, out of the grip of the Royal forces, which were tightening upon him, and by a night march to pass through Axbridge, and from there

* Home Office, King William's Chest (formerly Sealed Bag), 1674-1686, No. 3.

to Keynsham Bridge, to cross the Severn and take the "formerly intended course into Shropshire and Cheshire," where he had still strong hopes of obtaining assistance both in men and money; the latter he was terribly in want of. These plans, however, were all changed, for an eye witness of the arrival of the King's troops having brought an accurate account of the disposition of the Army, it was resolved at a Council of War held at three o'clock in the afternoon to make a night attack upon the camp. Information having been brought, also, that the Royal troops had not covered themselves with intrenchments, the design seemed feasible, though, strangely enough, the information did not give the most important fact of all, namely, that there was a natural intrenchment along the front of the Army guarding it from a surprise attack.

The moor where this historic fight occurred, called King's Sedgemore, is a large peat moor of 13,522 acres. The River Parret runs through the west side of it; the moor was often flooded by the river overflowing its banks. Attempts had been made to drain the place by broad ditches—called in this country "rhines"—being cut in different places to carry the water back into the river. One of these rhines, as already stated, covered the King's Army, but there were two others, called Black and Langmoor Ditches, which the Duke of Monmouth would have to pass on his march to fall upon the King's troops.

The disposition made by Feversham of his troops was as follows:—

On the extreme right of the line of Infantry was Dumbarton's Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas, composed of five companies and a company of Grenadiers; total, about 500. Then came two battalions of the 1st Guards, the one next to the Scots commanded by the Duke of Grafton and the other by Major Eaton, each battalion composed of six companies and numbering together 1,200 men. The line was prolonged to the left, first by the 2nd Guards—Coldstreams—commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Sackville, six companies of about 600 men; then Trelawney's Tangier Regiment, of five companies, 500 men, commanded by Colonel Churchill; and on the extreme left, the Queen's, five companies, about 500 strong, commanded by Kirk. These numbers are only approximately given, as the actual muster is not known.

The Horse quartered in Weston, except those guarding the camp and out with Colonel Ogleshorpe, consisted of, approximately, seven troops of the King's Guards, about 420, commanded by Major Sir Francis Compton; three troops of Dragoons, 180, commanded by Lord Cornbury; and the Life Guards, 150 troopers, with the addition of sixty mounted Grenadiers; this latter party being com-

manded by Colonel Villers. The total approximate strength of the King's troops, therefore, exclusive of officers and Artillery, was—Cavalry, 810 ; Infantry, 3,300 men.

A diary of an officer of the Royal Horse Guards, published in Kennet, gives the numbers as "not exceeding 4,000."*

Captain Coy's troop of Dragoons was posted to secure a pass over the River Parret, at Barran Bridge, on the road from Bridgewater to Weston. A guard of forty Horse was posted, under the command of Captain Upcott, with directions to keep up an efficient patrol towards Bridgewater, while the road to the right of the camp was guarded by a party of 100 Horse and fifty Dragoons, under the command of Major Sir Francis Compton, with orders to watch carefully a road going round by Chedzoy, towards Bridgewater. This was the party that ultimately discovered the advance of Monmouth, though not so early as it ought to have done. Between these two guards "came a middle but narrow way from Bridgewater into the moor, which was guarded by fifty musqueteers, to which our Horse on the left were ordered to retreat in case of necessity."† The Wiltshire Militia, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, was quartered in the villages behind the road from Bridgewater, through Weston.

Feversham went round all the guards, to see that they were alert and properly posted, and even went as far as Chedzoy, to endeavour to find if Oglethorpe had learnt anything about the Rebels' movements. He must have actually been at Chedzoy while the Rebel Army were marching on the right of the village to attack his camp ; Monmouth, either by luck or from more careful reconnaissance, having chosen the only route that kept him comparatively free of Feversham's outposts. At about 12.45 a.m., Feversham, feeling content that Monmouth was still in Bridgewater, retired to Weston to rest.

Monmouth's Army had been considerably reduced by desertions ; for the despondency that agitated the chiefs had communicated itself to some of the troops, and those who wisely took in the desperate nature of the enterprise had deserted at Frome. Wade asserts that at no time did the Rebel Army exceed 4,000 men ; and on the night of the attack the Cavalry were short by two troops, which had been sent to escort some guns from Minehead. Scott, in his history of the British Army,‡ gives an estimate of the Rebel Army, 2,600 Foot and 600 Horse ; but they were probably somewhat in excess of that

* Kennet, Ed. 1719, III., 433.

† Sackville Papers, Historical MSS., Commission, Appendix to Ninth Report, pp. 4 and 5, B.M.

‡ Scott's British Army, Vol. III., p. 493.

number, though far short of the 5,000 or 6,000 "colliers and ploughmen" that Macaulay estimates they amounted to. Evelyn says the Rebels were reported to be about 8,000. No doubt the Court magnified considerably the Pretender's forces.

At three o'clock in the afternoon Monmouth, in company with Lord Grey and a number of his chief officers, surveyed the King's forces from the tower of Bridgewater Church, from whence, with the aid of glasses, he could distinctly make out the disposition and number of the troops. He noticed, it is said, with much concern, that the Scots—a regiment he had himself commanded—was on the right of the line of Infantry, and where he intended to make his attack. He had been very much liked by the Scots, and knew their quality. "I know those men will fight," he said, and continued, with a gloomy forecast of the disaster which overtook his enterprise, "If I had them I would not doubt of success."* It was observed that many of the King's troops seemed to be loose and badly disciplined; and some of the party remarked to the Duke, with more confidence than he showed, "that no more was to be done than to lock up the stable door and seize the troopers in their beds." They quite ignored in their calculations the genius of the soldier Churchill, who, though under the command of the incapable Feversham, handled the troops under him with the dash and daring that afterwards so eminently distinguished him.

At seven p.m. the drums beat for the assembly in the camp, the officers attending meeting in their jack boots and red coats, and swords by their sides. Prayers were offered up for the success of their enterprise by the dissenting preachers, who were amongst Monmouth's soldiers.

At eleven o'clock the Duke set out with his Army on his last march—a short but eventful one.

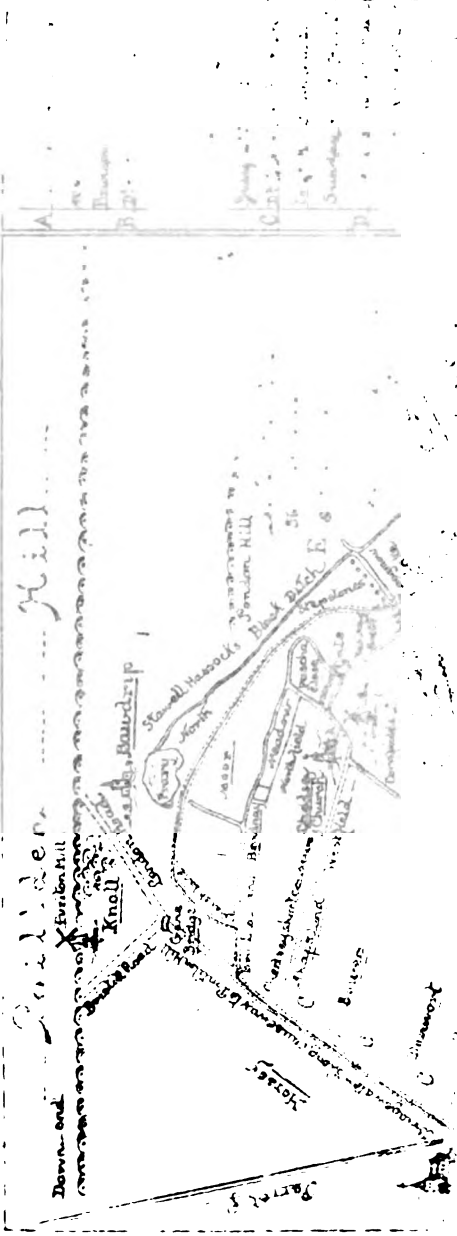
The five battalions composing the Rebel Foot were commanded by Colonels Wade, Mathews, Buffet, and Holmes. Wade led with the Duke's Regiment, the others followed in the order above. The troops were guided in the mist,† which fortunately for them covered the country, by Benjamin Newton, a native of the place, who knew every inch of the way.

The route he conducted them by, and which Monmouth had

* Macaulay, Vol. I., p. 604. Oldmixon, p. 703. Savage's History of Taunton, p. 473.

† Macaulay says (Vol. I., p. 601) the moon was at the full, and the northern streamers were shining brightly, so it was a fortunate circumstance that there was a mist.

of Sedgewick - July 17 '12.



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A hand-drawn map of a rural area, likely a farm or estate, with various buildings and fields labeled. The map is oriented with a north arrow pointing towards the top left. Key features include a large central building labeled 'House', a smaller building labeled 'Barn', and several fields labeled 'Field' and 'Pasture'. A road or path runs through the center, and a river or stream is visible on the right side. The map is drawn on a piece of paper with a grid pattern.

[illegible]

Poillden Hill



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observed was not well guarded, was by the causeway leading from Bridgewater to Position Hill. Colonel Ogleshorpe was on the latter place to see that Monmouth did not escape that way. On the causeway was another way leading to Chedzoy. This they passed, then turned to the right down Bradbury Lane, a sharp turn to the left down Marsh Lane, then another sharp turn to the right in a short time brought them to the first ditch, called Black Rhine. Defiling to cross this took up some time.

They were now on the moor, and for some distance after passing the rhine the route lay almost parallel to this water-course, until they came to the second rhine—Langmoor—where some confusion occurred, by the guide in his anxiety missing the ford. This was where the fatal alarm was given; but whether it was by accident or by treachery is not accurately known. A shot, whether by design or accident, gave the alarm to the King's Horse, who were not far off, and they soon perceived a great multitude advancing through the mist. Firing their carbines to give notice to the camp, one trooper hastened to the encampment of the Infantry, and others into Zoyland, to bring up the Horse.

The march had occupied over two hours; much time had been necessarily taken up by defiling at the crossings, but there was still plenty of time before daylight for the night attack to have been successful, had the King's Army not been alarmed by the chance shot.

It is a little singular that Monmouth's guide had not given him notice of the Bussex Rhine that covered the King's camp, for now, at the critical moment when, had the camp been open, as Monmouth expected, much might have been done by a sudden rush, they were confronted by this obstacle.

However, now was the time for decisive action. Halting for a moment to allow the Horse to pass, Monmouth ordered Grey to advance and get behind the King's Foot, while he attacked them in front. It is probable by this time the guide had warned them of the Bussex Rhine, for Grey made for the ford, a crossing on the right, but missing it, rode right along the front of the King's troops, who had now almost formed up. Some of the Rebel Cavalry may have crossed the ford, as, according to the King's account,* a charge was made on Major Sir Francis Compton's Horse, posted on the right of the Infantry, and he being shot in the breast, the command of this party was taken by Captain Sands. It is more probable

* Harleian MSS., 6,845, Folio 276.

that Sir Francis Compton's Horse crossed the ford, for another account * says he met the vanguard of the enemy, at first mistaking them for the Militia Horse, and after a slight skirmish, in which the leader was shot, they retreated to their main body.

The Rebel Horse were challenged by Dumbarton's Regiment as they passed along the front of the line. They replied, "Albemarle," and were allowed to pass. On being challenged again, when opposite the King's Guards, by an officer, who called out, "For whom are you?" they replied, "For the King." "What King?" The reply came quickly, "Monmouth; and God be with us." A volley from the Guards immediately followed the Rebel war cry, and so close were the Horse to the troops that it caused dire loss and the greatest confusion. Another volley followed as they passed along the line, which completed the discomfiture of Grey's Horse, who wheeled to the right in great confusion. They made an effort to re-form when they had cleared the front, but before anything could be done to bring the Horse into order, a troop of Dragoons, that had been ordered by Lord Churchill to advance on the left, charged them, and sent them flying to the rear. It is difficult to get an exact account of the battle, but it would appear, from the Sackville Papers, that some of Monmouth's Horse had remained on the left of the Rebels, for Lord Feversham ordered Colonel Oglethorpe to advance over the ditch. There he engaged a party of Grey's Horse, and quickly routed them.

Monmouth saw with dismay the defeat of his Horse, and brought up his Foot in the greatest haste—Wade says, so fast that they were all in confusion, he having to halt his battalion some thirty or forty paces from the ditch to put them in some order. Colonel Mathews' Regiment came up next, and began firing at some distance from the enemy. Wade's Regiment followed with its fire, both regiments thus disconcerting the plans that had been formed to reserve the fire till they had crossed the ditch and had approached close to the King's troops. The Rebel troops could not now be got to face the passage of the ditch, but continued firing at the King's troops till their ammunition was spent; no more was to hand, for the Horse, in their panic-struck retreat, had carried off the ammunition wagons, and the cries of "Ammunition, for God's sake, ammunition," soon began to be heard from the Rebels, who were now making a game stand against the Royal troops.

It was all of no avail; the King's troops were now in order and well led.

* Sackville Papers. Historical MSS., Ninth Report, p. 4.

Monmouth showed he had personal courage, for he gallantly stood by his Foot, being seen, pike in hand, encouraging his men by voice and example. After an hour and a half's firing across the ditch, and beating back charges of Cavalry, day began to break; the King's guns had been brought up (by the help of the Bishop of Winchester's horses!), and were playing upon the unfortunate Rebels, three guns being on the right of the Scots, and others firing through the intervals between the King's battalions. Monmouth's three guns had been fairly well served (it is said by a Dutch gunner) on the left of the line, and, according to the King's account,* did considerable execution on the Scots and the First Battalion of the Guards.

Lord Churchill, perceiving by the morning light that the attack of the Rebels was on their right and that Monmouth had no troops at all on the left, ordered the Queen's and Trelawney's Regiments to march along the rear to the support of the right wing. Now Feversham, seeing the Rebels beginning to waver, ordered a general advance of the Foot over the ditch. The two Tangier Regiments are said to have done "good service" in the fight which followed, and as by their march along the rear they had got into the post of honour on the right wing, they were in the thickest of the fight. The Cavalry now again charged on the flanks of the unfortunate Rebels. The fight was over. Everything was cast away that could impede their flight; even abandoning their colours, twenty-two of which were taken by the King's troops.† Captain Robert Hacket, of the Scots Regiment, who fought with the Queen's against the Moors in Tangiers, is said to have taken Monmouth's own standard, with the motto, in gilt letters, "Fear none but God."‡ Wade says, "It being pretty light by this time, I perceived all y^e battalions on y^e left running (who, as I since understood, were broken by y^e King's Horse of y^e left wing), and finding my own men were not inclinable to stand, I caused them to face about and make a kind of disorderly retreat to a ditch a great way behind us (no doubt Langmoor), where we were charged by a party of Horse and Dragoons, and routed, about 150 getting over the ditch." The utter incapacity of the Rebel Horse was shown by Wade, who relates, on his arrival at Bridgewater, meeting there two or three full troops of Horse, who had galloped off without "striking stroke."

Monmouth, just before the King's Horse charged them the second

* Harleian MSS., 6,845, Folio 281.

† Sackville Papers. Historical MSS., Ninth Report, p. 4.

‡ Scott's British Army, Vol. III., p. 500.

time, on being told by his servant that they were being surrounded, took off his arms, and mounting his horse, rode off the field—the King says, with Lord Grey, who came to him after his Horse had all gone.

There are many conflicting accounts of the losses in the battle. Oldmixon, the historian, who was a boy at the time the battle was fought, and was on the field before the dead were buried, gives the numbers as 300 for the Rebels and 400 for the King's troops, killed in action; but numbers were killed afterwards, "hiding in the ditches and cornfields, and other hiding places, the following day."

1,200 were made prisoners. Other accounts give the losses of the Rebels at 2,000.

In Reresby's Memoirs are particulars as follows:—Rebels slain, about 1,200; 600 prisoners taken. King's Army, 300 killed and wounded. The *London Gazette*, of 9th July, states the loss on the King's side as 300 killed and seven wounded—the latter figure undoubtedly an error.

Macaulay, who had read every book and manuscript relating to the fight, says:—"More than a thousand lay dead on the moor.* The number of killed and wounded in the Queen Dowager's Regiment is not known. In the War Office Records there is an account of rewards paid to four soldiers of the Regiment, who were seriously wounded and sent to Chelsea Hospital. These soldiers, James Barnes, John Rosse, James Resin, and John Pawling, were paid, as solatium for wounds at Sedgemoor, ten marks, or £6 13s. 4d. each man.

The rout of Monmouth's Army was complete. An attempt was made to rally at Bridgewater, but only for a moment. Wade, on arriving there, found no one with any heart left, and when Feversham, as soon as it was daylight, marched into the town, he found it quite deserted. Before the day was over, 500 prisoners were crowded into the parish Church of Weston, eighty of them being wounded.

The *London Gazette* informed its readers that, "after the field was cleared of the Rebels, the Earl of Feversham marched with 500 Foot and some Horse Dragoons to Bridgewater, the Rebels that were left there having fled and dispersed themselves in several places. His Lordship left men in the town under the command of Colonel Kirk."

The bells of Weston and Chedzoy were rung joyously, and Macaulay writes:—"The farmers of the neighbourhood made haste, as soon as the event of the fight was known, to send hogsheads of their best cider as peace offerings to the victors."†

* Macaulay, Vol. I., p. 611.

† Ibid, p. 614.

The actual fighting did not last more than an hour and a half to two hours. Colonel Oglethorpe was sent express to the King, with an account of the fight and signal victory, and was knighted, receiving also, as a further reward for his services, the command of the Holland Regiment. Henry Sheres was also knighted on the 20th July, Lord Feversham being made a K.G.

Monmouth and Buyse were captured by a party of the Dorset Militia on the 8th of July, not far from Ringwood; Lord Grey and his guide having been secured the day before. They were sent up to London under a strong escort, being received at Vauxhall by Lord Dartmouth's newly-raised Regiment of Fusiliers, and lodged in the Tower on the 13th of July.

Monmouth, after a pusillanimous effort to escape the penalty he had incurred, met his death bravely, but Grey and Buyse were pardoned.*

King James wrote to the Prince of Orange the day after the battle, giving him a full account. With reference to the commencement of the fight, he wrote that the Rebels "about two in the morning engaged our Foot with great vigour, and were as well received. They had but three pieces of cannon with them, which they brought up within pistol-shot of our Foot. Our Horse in the meantime drew up on the right-hand of our Foot—the left being so covered that they could not be taken by that flank—and charged the Rebel Horse, which consisted of fifteen troops, and beat them at the first charge, and did not pursue them far, but fell back into the rear of the Rebels' Foot, which made good resistance, but at last were all cut to pieces." Monmouth, he says, got away with forty Horse; but he believed the counties would rise, and Monmouth would have great difficulty in escaping.†

On the 8th Feversham wrote to the King, giving news of the taking of the Duke of Monmouth, and informing him that he had sent the Scots battalions to Devizes, "where the cannons are," and the Militia to their homes. He himself, after to-morrow, would march to "Warminster," but he had left Kirk and his Regiment and two troops of Dragoons at Bridgewater.‡

* A curious entry in secret service of Charles II. and James II., in Camden Society's Papers, p. 133, relates that £76 6s. 8d. was paid to Thomas Cheek, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, for charge of keeping Captain Anthoney Buyse, and other prisoners, in the said Tower, and for strengthening divers of the prison lodgings with iron bars, bolts, and locks, &c.

† Home Office, King William's Chest (formerly Sealed Bag), 1674-1686, No. 3.

‡ Sackville MSS. Historical MSS., Com. Ninth Report, p. 4.

On the 9th July Feversham received orders from the King to return to London with the Horse and Foot Guards, and to dispose of the rest of the troops as he should think fit, "leaving what Horse, Foot, or Dragoons, may be requisite, with Colonel Kirk at Bridgewater or Taunton." The King further ordered, with respect to the prisoners that had been taken, that Williams, Parrott, Holmes, the Anabaptist minister, and any others Feversham might think fit, were to be sent to London at once under a sufficient guard. The rest of the prisoners were to be brought to London, in safe custody, when possible.*

King James wrote to the Prince of Orange on the 10th July, informing him of the capture of the Duke of Monmouth, with a Brandenburgher that was with him, and informs his correspondent that he had ordered Monmouth to be brought to London under a strong guard.

In the King's account of his interview with Monmouth, he writes to the Prince:—"The Duke of Monmouth seemed more concerned and desirous to live, and did behave himself not so well as I expected, nor so as one ought to have expected from one who had taken upon him to be King. Lord Grey appeared more vigorous and ingenuous, and never so much as asked for his life." On the 17th July, in another letter to the Prince, he informs him of the execution of the Duke, who, he says "died resolutely, and a down-right enthusiast, though, he said, he was of the Church of England."†

Three days after Sedgemoor, Kirk marched with his Regiment from Bridgewater to Taunton, with a large number of prisoners and two carts full of wounded Rebels. He is reported to have hanged nine of these, without trial, on his arrival there.

The records of the days following the Rebellion and the punishment of the Rebels are not pleasant reading. No doubt many of the stories told of Kirk's brutality are exaggerated, and many absolutely untrue. He was a violent, passionate man, and when on parade would curse and swear and threaten in the most outrageous manner,‡ but he seldom carried out his threats.

Macaulay has, it is to be feared, with his powerful but prejudiced pen, blackened the character of Kirk for all time; but it does not appear as if he had given the full value to the profound prejudices raised by the punishments inflicted on the Rebels. The most interesting diary of Luttrell§ reported that Kirk executed 100 captives during the week following the battle.

* State Papers, Dom., 1685, No. 1.

† Home Office, King William's Chest, No. 3.

‡ Savage's History of Taunton, p. 549.

§ Luttrell's Diary, July 15th, 1685, p. 354.

There is little doubt that Kirk was guilty of allowing prisoners to escape by a money payment, and it is said he was recalled from his command in the West, not for his reported severities, but on account of the "interested liberty which he had shown to rich delinquents." * Letters of the Minister, Sunderland, to him, dated July 14th and 28th, quoted by Macaulay, reports that the King has commanded him to signify his dislike of Kirk's proceedings, and desired him to take care that no person concerned in the Rebellion was at large. Some letters bearing upon Kirk's action after the fight appear in the Domestic Entry Books, preserved in the Public Record Office. On the 14th July, Lord Sunderland, acknowledging Kirk's letter of 11th July, from Bridgewater, in which he asks for instructions how to dispose of the Rebels in his custody "who have not yet been executed," wrote that the King "would have him take care that they be secured in some prison or other safe place in order to their trials before the Judges at their next Circuit." Kirk again wrote, on the 20th and 22nd July, about obtaining pardon for three persons concerned in the late Rebellion. In reply, the Minister informed him that his Majesty "does not think fit to do anything of that kind till such time as they shall be tried before my Lord Chief Justice," after which the King promises to entertain Kirk's application! The King, finding Kirk had released some persons who had been in the Rebellion, wrote on the 28th, through his Minister, to express his disapproval of this clemency, and sternly ordered that his former directions be strictly adhered to. The King had, before this, written to Kirk on the 26th July, saying he was well satisfied with his proceedings. The last letter to Kirk on these matters is dated 3rd August, wherein he is ordered to deliver one Jones, a Rebel, up to bearer, to be brought to London.†

A fearful charge has been brought against Kirk, of the betrayal of a lady and the execution of her relation. One authority gives it that the sacrifice was for the father, another for the husband, and another relates that the shameful price was paid for the life of her brother. The story, which was believed by many, and was stated in great detail by Dr. Toulmin in his history of Taunton, received a powerful refutation in a letter from a person named John Merrill, dated from Poland Street, London, 12th March, 1759. This letter, found among the papers of the historian, Dr. Smollet, after his death, gives an entirely new version to the story. In this letter the writer states that he is desirous to convey to his correspondent a refutation of a

* Macaulay, Vol. I., p. 637.

† Domestic Entry Book, 1679-1688, P.R.O.

vile and horrible story falsely told of General Kirk. The account, the writer says, he had from Mr. Martin Killigrew, who he says was at that time an officer in General Kirk's Regiment, and was upon the spot when the thing happened; and Killigrew, further questioned by the narrator, said that he knew of no reason why this story should have been fathered upon Kirk, except the violent and universal hatred that prevailed all over the West in consequence of the executions, and also because of the outrageous, passionate behaviour of Kirk—a constant habit of his, though it very seldom went beyond words. The story, as told by Mr. Merrill, was that an order came from Court for Kirk to take out twenty of the Rebels from the gaol and have them executed by martial law. A relation of one of the prisoners prevailed upon Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe, a lady widely known for her charity, to beg the life of one of the men named.

Kirk, with several of his officers, was standing in a balcony to see the execution, when he was approached by the lady, who earnestly begged the life she had been asked to save. Kirk at once conceded her prayer, and turning to Lieutenant Bush, who was nearest to him (and who was considered the most stupid man in the Regiment), said to him, in his short, bluff way, "Go and bid the executioner cut him from the gallows," taking for granted that Bush heard the name of the man for whom intercession had been made.

The stupid lieutenant not only had not remarked the name, but further, did not ask for it, and when he told the executioner to "cut him down," was naturally asked, "Which him? for there are twenty."

One of the criminals, who had remarked all the proceedings, at once spoke up and told Bush he was the man, and he was released and quickly made off. The real man, who was devoutly praying and preparing for his end, paid no attention to what was transpiring, and was executed with the rest.*

May not many of the other stories related of Kirk's savagery and cruelty be equally untrue? If we think of the violence of the hatred that the events just related had raised, and consider also the training of Kirk and his soldiers in their Tangier fights, can we not well imagine how easily executions ordered by his superiors, and which as a soldier he was bound to obey, might be magnified into horrible and arbitrary acts of ferocity? If Kirk had been all Macaulay and others had painted him, the records of the Tangier papers would have given full evidence of his nature; and though he is undoubtedly there proved guilty of many grave faults, and properly called to account for them

* Savage's History of Taunton, p. 547.

by Lord Dartmouth, there is no evidence of the ruthless barbarity which he is found, according to our great historian and others, practising in Taunton.

Further, Kirk did not end his services here; the latter pages of our history will show him a brave and gallant soldier, and unstained by crimes which the prejudiced historians say he liked to indulge in.

Colonel Foulkes, who was with the Duke of Monmouth's Army, and, being pardoned, commanded a regiment in King William's service, long afterwards met Kirk and upbraided him for his cruelties, when Kirk replied that all his acts were by the express order from the King and his General, and vowed that he had actually put a restraint on the power and instructions given him.*

King James, whatever may have been his virtues, was undoubtedly of a cruel nature. Amongst the many instances of it may be related his cold refusal of the prayers of Miss Hewlings, on behalf of her two brothers, condemned to death by Jeffreys. Churchill obtained admittance for the poor girl to the King, and wished her, with all his heart, success, but told her not to flatter herself with hopes. "This marble"—he laid his hand on the mantel-piece—"is not harder than the King." May not this cold, cruel nature have lost the touch of sympathy with his people—"the one touch of nature"—and so losing his kinship, when the time of trial came in 1688, he lost his Crown?

There is no doubt that Kirk was guilty of mean and dishonourable acts in allowing his prisoners to escape by the payment of a bribe, while pretending they were pardoned; but this was only a continuation of similar acts in Tangiers, where he undoubtedly ruled the town for his own pecuniary advantage. It is certainly a curious circumstance, if he was the demon of cruelty he is made out to be, that the people of the town where his cruelties were enacted—Taunton—should be so proud of him and his troops, in their brave relief of Londonderry some years after, as to devote a whole evening in drinking his health in public, "the expenses of which may now be seen in an old church book."†

Kirk was married to Lady Mary Howard, daughter of George, fourth Earl of Suffolk.

On the 7th July Captain Barber's company, which had been left

* Savage's History of Taunton, p. 549. History of William III., Vol. I., p. 170. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, p. 705.

† Savage's History of Taunton, p. 543.

at Pendennis, was ordered to march to Plymouth, being relieved in its duty at Pendennis by an independent company commanded by Lord Arundel of Trevice.* On its arrival there it joined the company commanded by Sir James Leslie; the two companies on the 13th July set out to join the Regiment, then in the county of Somerset.

Kirk wrote to Lord Dartmouth on the 13th July, relative to the loss of his arms at Wells (which Sheres had also written about), asking for additional arms to replace those lost.

A letter from Blaithwayte, dated 21st July,† from Whitehall, after informing Kirk that two more companies of his battalion from Plymouth had been ordered to join him, further informed him that "his companies being now reduced to sixty, and many of the Rebels' arms having been taken by him, it is hoped that those (arms) you have will suffice."

In the same letter he is informed, in reply to one he sent on the 18th, "concerning plundering and murthur by soldiers in pay," that "His Majesty orders his Minister to signify to him that in all cases, where any difference arises between a soldier and a civilian not in His Majesty's pay, the decision is to be left to the common law, which is to be done in all matters where any Person not on pay shall be concerned; and in all cases where the punishing is to be loss of life or limb. The tryal of any offender in His Majesty's pay to be left to the common and statute law. The Articles of War in all these cases being only to take place during the Rebellion, is now ceased."

A letter was sent by Sunderland on the same date (21st July, o.s.) to Kirk, acknowledging receipt of his letter from Taunton. In this letter Kirk is informed that the King "is well satisfied with his proceedings," and he is ordered to secure those prisoners already in custody, as well as those which might still be apprehended, in order that they might be tried at the next assizes in the county.‡

An order was sent to Kirk on the 10th August, to proceed to Windsor to report on his proceedings. The order was as follows:—

COLONEL KIRK TO REPAIR TO COURT.

"Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Our will and pleasure is, that upon receipt hereof, you forthwith repair to our presence, That we may be fully informed of the state of our affairs in the West, and give such further directions therein, as we shall find requisite for our service. And so we bid you farewell.

* War Office Marching Orders, Vol. I., pp. 133-134.

† War Office Letter Book, 1684, pp. 12-13.

‡ State Papers (Domestic), 1685, No. 1.

"Given at our Court at Windsor, the 10th day of August, 1685, in the first year of our reign." *

By his Majesty's command, W.B.

To our trusty and well beloved
Piercy Kirk, Esq., one of our Brigadiers,
and Commander-in-Chief of Forces in
the West.

Kirk wrote on the 12th August to the Minister, Sunderland, that he had received advices of some Rebels having got to the sea coast, about twenty miles from Taunton, and that he believed Ferguson was amongst them. He had sent a party of Dragoons after them. He had also taken a captain and thirteen men on the "mores" (moors), Sunday last, one of whom he believed to be Ferguson. †

At the end of August came the welcome order for the Regiment to march away from the scenes of executions and punishments. Cannon says ‡ that Kirk, with his Regiment, was ordered to escort the Judges in their circuit; but we may be permitted to doubt this, for Jeffreys and the four other Judges did not leave town for their grim task till the beginning of September, by which time Kirk and the Regiment were, according to the orders, far away from the terrible scenes. Several historians relate circumstantial accounts of Kirk's barbarity, and, as before shown, Macaulay has adopted these stories. Bishop Burnet writes, § that Kirk had "become so savage by the neighbourhood of the Moors," that he ordered, some days after Sedgemoor, several of the prisoners to be hanged without trial, and brutally ordered the bands to play when the unfortunates were in their dying agonies, which the Bishop says was both illegal and inhuman; but Kirk was only chid for it. It is probable that he executed many prisoners without trial, but we may be permitted to doubt the other details. The same story is related by Dr. Toulmin, in his history of Taunton; || and the latter also states that, when Judge Jeffreys opened his bloody commission at Taunton, the Queen's Regiment composed his guards, and was contained on the piece of ground west of the Castle, and which has since been called "Tangier," from the name of the Regiment at that time. It is possible an escort of the Queen's might have been left behind, but the Regiment itself was ordered away before the Judge and his fellows arrived.

* War Office Marching Book, Vol. I., p. 223.

† State Papers (Domestic), 1685, No. 12.

‡ History of the 2nd Regiment of Foot, or Queen's Royals, p. 17.

§ Burnet's Own Times, Vol. II., p. 415.

|| Savage's History of Taunton, p. 542.

As a matter of history, it was the Queen Consort's Regiment, now the 4th King's Own, that was ordered to escort Jeffreys on his circuit. This Regiment was called the 2nd Tangiers Regiment, and this, therefore, explains the common error of confounding it with Kirk's Regiment—one was "Queen Dowager's Regiment," the other the "Queen Consort's Regiment," and both were Tangiers Regiments.

The marching order,* dated 31st August, directed the Regiment to march from Taunton to Kingston; but it would appear from a subsequent order that that was countermanded, and they were sent to Plymouth, for we find on the 11th September they were ordered to march from Plymouth to Kingston-upon-Thames. They were to pass through Plympton, Brent, Ashburton, Chidley, Exeter, Honiton, Axminster, Crookhorne, Sherborne, Shaftesbury, Salisbury, Middle Wallop, Andover, Whitechurch, Basingstoke, Hartford Bridge, Hartley Row, Bagshot, Staines, Egham, and Kingston, arriving at Kingston on the 2nd October.

The Queen Consort's Regiment was, on the 29th August, ordered to march from Porstmouth to Taunton. The order, sent to Colonel Charles Trelawney, directed him to start on Tuesday, 1st September (o.s.) for Southampton, fifteen miles; 2nd, Dunckton, thirteen miles; 3rd, Salisbury, eight miles; 4th, to rest; 5th, Shaftesbury, eighteen miles; 6th, rest; 7th, Wincanton, ten miles; 8th, Ilchester, eleven miles; 9th, Langport, nine miles; 10th, Taunton, ten miles.†

On the 8th October an order was sent for the Regiment (the Queen's) to march on the 11th to Rochester, but they were to "appear in Hyde Park on their march to their new quarters." The Regiment was to go first to Brentford, and the next day to Hyde Park, and from thence to Moorfields and places adjacent; the day following to Greenwich and Deptford, the next day to Dartford, and the following day the Regiment was to arrive at Rochester, where it remained for the rest of the year.

The King lost no time after the battle in showing his appreciation of the valuable services of his Generals. He writes, on the 6th July, by his Minister, Sunderland, to Lord Feversham, informing him he had given commissions as Major-Generals to Lord Churchill and to Mackay, and of Brigadier-Generals to Sackville and Kirk.‡

The King, in a letter to the Prince of Orange, dated 24th July, after the Battle of Sedgemoor, mentions being at Hounslow to see some

* War Office Marching Book, Vol. I., pp. 272-273.

† Marching Orders, Vol. II., pp. 26-27.

‡ Domestic Entry Book, 1685, P.R.O.

6,000 men there. This was the commencement of the camp. On the 10th August he informed the Prince that he hoped to have most of his new Foot at Hounslow by the next week, where he intended them to camp for some time. On the 18th he writes:—"I design to have a rendezvous of most of my new Horse and Foot on Saturday next, at Hounslow, before I send them to their several quarters. Those I have seen of them already I am very well satisfied with, and hope shall be so with the rest, &c." On the 21st he writes that he is going to see if the "ground be well set out for all the troops which are to be there to-morrow." *

On the 12th October the King made an inspection of some of his troops in Hyde Park.

In a letter to the Prince of Orange, next day, he writes:—"I was yesterday in Hyde Park, when I saw all my Foot Guards, Kirk's Regiment of Foot, four companies of Douglass' and Lord Dover's Regiments of Horse, and was very well satisfied with all of them; and on Thursday am to see in the same place all my Dragoons, being twenty troops in three Regiments, before they march to their winter quarters."†

The events of the Monmouth Rebellion, and its final scene, the Battle of Sedgemoor, cannot better be closed than by the insertion here of a most interesting MS., which, by the kindness of the Master and Wardens of Magdalene College, Cambridge (and the Royal Artillery Institute, who printed the MS. for their Institute proceedings), we are enabled to print. This most interesting account is written by Mr. Edward Dummer, a gunner in the train of Artillery at the battle, which train was under the direction of our old friend Sheres. The plans here shown are copied from the originals which are with the manuscript.

A BRIEF IOURNALL OF THE WESTERN REBELLION.‡

A JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF Y^e D. OF MONMOUTH IN HIS INVADING OF ENGLAND; WITH THE PROGRESS & ISSUE OF Y^e REBELLION ATTENDING IT. KEPT BY MR. EDWARD DUMMER THEN SERVING IN Y^e TRAIN OF ARTILLERY EMPLOY'D BY HIS MAJESTY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF Y^e SAME.

June 1685. The Duke of Monmouth, Lord Gray, and One Ferguson a Phanatick
 24 11th Priest, accompanied wth about 100 More, Arriv'd in Three Small
 Vessells (Hyred or Bought in Holland) at Lyme in Dorsetshire; and

* Home Office, King William's Chest (formerly Sealed Bag), 1674-1686, No. 3.

† Ibid.

‡ Pepysian Library, No. 2,490, Magdalen College, Cambridge.

from thence sent forth their Accomplices into y^e Adjacent Parts, to give notice of their Landing, and to Exhort y^e People to their Assistance.

- ¶ 12 They continued in Lyme Listing Associat's (w^{ch} every moment came to them) under their now display'd Colours w^{ch} are a deep Green, inscrib'd wth Letters of Gold [Fear nothing but God] forming a propense Rebellion, under an Audacious Declaration of Protecting y^e Protestant Religion against Popery & Arbitrary Power.
- h 13 They Remaine still in Lyme, the Mayor of y^e Place makes his Escape and gives his Mat^{ie} an Acco^t thereof. The Dorsetshire Militia, and many Gentlemen Voluntires are Mustering themselves wth all expedition to oppose them.
- o 14 The Rebells March'd out of Lyme to a Place call'd Bridgport and surpriz'd some of y^e Kinges Party; among whome Mr Strangwayes and Mr Coaker (Gentlemen Volunteers) were killed; But y^e Rest wth some of the Militia got to their Armes and Charg'd y^e Rebells, Kill'd 7 of them and tooke 23 Prisoners; the Rest retiring in disorder to Lyme. Duke Albemarle was now about Exceter, Raising y^e Devonshire Militia. The Rebells with a Rabble of Rascally People March out of Lyme towards Taunton; having wth them 4 Field Pieces and Ammunition suitable.
- ¶ 15th My Lord Churchill, wth part of my Lord Oxfords Regiment of Horse, are on their way to Dorchester; followed by Coll Kirkes and Trelawneys Regiments of Foot. The Duke of Somerset who commands that Countye Militia & the Duke of Beufort y^e Militia of Gloucestershire are on their way to those Stations.
- ¶ 16 Monmouth is abt Taunton; Forming his Adherentes into a Body—Eight Pieces of Cannon wth Amunicon proportionable under the care of Mr Shere Comptroler are this day set forward from Portsmo towards My Lord Churchill; Guarded by 3 Companies of Foot & 2 Troopes of Horse under the Command of Coll Churchill.
- ¶ 17th The Rebells are abt Taunton. No considerable Action.
- ¶ 18 Nothing of Moment.
- ¶ 19 My Lord Churchill arrives at Chard, sends out Twenty Commanded Horse under Lieutenn^t Monaux and a Quart^r Mast^r; who met wth much abt y^e like Number of Sturdy Rebells, well Arm'd; Betwⁿ whome hapned a very briske Encounter. Twelve of the Rebells were Killed, and the rest Rest being Wounded, Fled and Alarmd y^e Body of the Rebells w^{ch} lay near; so that a Fresh Party appear'd, and caus'd Ours to retreat, leaving Lieutenn^t Monaux upon the Place, shott in y^e Head, and Killd, on y^e first Charge; The Quart^r Mast^r wth the Rest came off well, saving Two or Three that were Wounded. This Action hapned within Three Miles of Taunton.
- h 20 Cap Trevanion in y^e Suadadoes* wth Other of his Maties Ships under his Command arrives [sic] at Lyme and there finds, and secures a Pinke and a Dogger that belongd to y^e Rebells (y^e 3^d Vessell being gon) togethr wth Fourty Barrlls of Powder wth Back, Breast and Head pieces for betwⁿ 4 & 5000 Men, in y^e Towne.
- The Rebells are abt Bridgwater. The Duke of Albemarle at Exeter.

* Could this be Capt Trevanion in y^e *Suadadoes*? I can find no mention of the ship anywhere.

- © 21 The Portsm^o Artillery comes to Dorchester, and Receives Orders from My Lord Churchill to March to Sherborne ; His Lordsh^{pp} taking his way to Langport. The Rebels are Marching towards Glassenbury ; Two Companies of the Sommersetshire (excepting the Officers) Revolt to him.
- ▷ 22 My Lord Churchill sends out a Party of Horse consisting of ab^t Fourty from Langport, w^{ch} meets wth double the Number of Rebels and Beats them into their Camp. The Artillery is now at Sherborne and Receives Orders from My Lord Churchill to March to Somerton. The Rebels are now in Quarters at Glassenbury w^{ch} is 12 Miles from Sherborne and 6 from Somerton. My L^d Feaversh^a with a detachment of his Maties Horse Guards joynes the Earle of Pembroke wth the Wiltshire Militia at Chippenham. The Duke of Grafton is likewise Marching with 2000 of his Ma^{ts} Foot Guards.
- δ 23 The Artillery joynes My Lord Churchill at Somerton and Quarters there, not without feare of interception ; Our Out Guards have frequent Skirmishes with those of the Rebels, Every moment Taking Some One or Other, Jarvice a Feltmaker of Evell (a Notorious Fellow) was also Taken and his Brother after a briske Resistance killed. The Rebels March to Shepton Mallet.
- ϣ 24 The Duke of Albemarle is now at Wellington 5 Miles from Taunton having put 3 Companies into Lyme. The Duke of Somerset is at Bath wth y^e Militia of Somerset. The Duke of Beufort at Bristoll with those of Glocestershire, joyned by My Lord Feaversham Command^r in chiefe. My Lord Churchill Marches close upon the Rebels and this Night Quarters at Wells. The Rebels March from Shepton Mallet and Quarter at Pensford ab^t 5 Miles from Bristoll, 7 from Bath and 10 from Wells ; Thus surrounded lies the Rebels without possibility of avoiding some Rancounter.
- ⋈ 25 The Rebels March to Canisham 3 Miles further and Encamp in a Meadow on the side of Glocestershire, upon the River Avon, ab^t Mid-way betwⁿ Bath and Bristoll. My Lord Churchill Marches to Pensford. Coll Oglethorp advances wth a good Party of Horse out of Bristoll, and with a detachment of 25 only, Commanded by Cap^t Parker, Attack's y^e Rebels in their Quarters at Canisham Towne ; Killing 40 or 50 of them wth the losse but of One Man ; A successfull but Desperate Attempt. Duke Albemarle continues in Devonsh^{re}.
- ρ 26 My Lord Churchill Marches towards Bristoll hanges Jarvice the Feltmak^r about a Mile from Pensford, who dyes Obstately and Impenitently. He Receives advice from My Lord Feaversham to March the Nearest way to Bath ; the Rebels taking that way on the Somersetshire side of Avon, In the Evening the Lord Feaversham, Churchill, & Duke of Grafton joyne at Bath, & Quarter, wth severall Regiments of the Militia. The Rebels are Marchd to Phillips Norton 5 Miles distant. The Duke of Albemarle continues in Devonshire.
- h 27th The Army Marchd early from Bath after the Rebels to Phillips Norton, whence they were dislodging ; Five hund^d Foot wth some Troopes of Horse, Granadeers and Dragoones were detach'd under the Command of the Duke of Grafton to fall upon their Rear, w^{ch} was accordingly don, but with ill Success. The Rebels having posted them-

selves so advantageously That we lost about 50 Men, besides Wounded, The Duke himselfe narrowly escaping ; soon after y^e Body of the Army wth the Artillery came up and having stood two houres a Fair Marke, shooting at Hedges & Shott at in desperate Rainy Weather, We march'd off to Bradford. The Rebels to Froom Selwood—Our own damage was certain, but that of the Rebels could not be guess'd at. We left Our Morter p's and Shells at Bath.

© 28 We Rested at Bradford, the Rebels at Frome, here We receiv'd advice that the Enemie in y^e late Action receiv'd considerable damage. Duke Albemarle continues in Devonshire. The great Train of Artillery from London is at Marleborough.

▷ 29th We March'd early towards Westbury under y^e Plaine having advice that the Rebels were Marching to Warminster, But Our Near Approach caus'd their Returne to Shepton Mallet and so to Wells and Bridgwater, We Quarterd at Westbury. The Duke of Albemarle is in Devonshire, The great Traine of Artillery at the Devizes.

δ 30 This Morning early the great Traine of Artillery joyn'd the Army at Westbury and then March'd for Froome.

July Rested at Froom, and here first Encamp'd, Nothing Extraordinary ;
 ♀ 1st confirmation of much damage don y^e Rebels at Phillips Norton, and that They had don a great deale of spoyle to y^e Town of Wells. Duke Albemarle is still in Devonshire.

℥ 2^d The Army March'd to Shepton Mallet and Encamp'd. Nothing else of Moment. The Rebels at Bridgwater.

♀ 3^d The Army March'd to Somerton and Encamp't, had advice of the Rebels making shew of Fortysfying Bridgwater, having summon'd in the Country to assist them therein ; Our Party, are confirm'd by the Countrey People of the like intentions.

℥ 4th Rested at Somerton. Capt Coy wth a strong Party of Horse, being this Morning within $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile of Bridgwater met wth a greater party of Rebels, charg'd through them and broke them, without any considerable damage on either side—We are now within 10 Miles of y^e Enemie. Orders sent to bring away the Morter Piece from Bath towards Bridgwater.

© 5 We Marchd into y^e Levell, and in the Evening Encamp't at Weston in Sedgmore about 2 Miles from Bridgwater, wth the Village on One side and beguirt wth a Dry (but in some places Miery) Ditch on the Other, Fronting y^e Moore a Place copious and commodious for Fighting ; In Our March hither we understood that the Rebels had given out ; They would fight in this Place ; In y^e Evening Coll Oglethorp advanc'd wth a strong Party of Horse to Bridgwater to discover y^e motion of the Rebels who were said to be drawn out from thence, and in their March towards Bristoll (as They would have us believe) We securely went to Sleep, The Foot in Camp, and the Horse in Quarters at Weston and Midlesea, saving some Outguards of Horse upon Our Right and Left.

(sic)

© 6 At 2 a Clock this Morning (securely sleeping) Our Camp was Rouz'd by the near approach of the Rebels ; a darke Night and thick Fogg,

© 26 (sic) covering the Moore, Supiness and a preposterous confidence of Our Selves, with an Undervaluing of the Rebels, that many dayes before, I.ad made

1. The first of these is the
 2. part of the lake in the north
 3. of the mountain. The City
 4. is within the lake.

[illegible][illegible]



Plans of The Battle of Sedgemoore. By M^r. Edward Nimmer. 1685
Copied by permission of the Masters and Fellows of Magdalen College Cambridge
From Pepysian Library M. 2490.

us make such tedious Marches had put Us, into y^e Worst circumstances of Surprize. Our Horse in Quarters, Some Near, Some Remote, Our Artillery distinct, & in a separate Post, to. y^t of the Camp, neither immediatly accomodable to a Generall Resistance; Thus we Rec^d y^e Alarme from S^r Francis Compton upon the Right, whose Successfull Charging y^e whole Body of the Rebells Horse, Command^d by the L^d Gray, with his Single Party of 150 Horse and Dragoons Broke their Body of near 1200 and Routed y^m; From this Alarme, there seemes to be 2 Minuits distance, to a Volley of Small Shott from the Body of the Rebells Foot, consisting of ab^t 6000 (but All came not up to Battell) in, upon the Right of our Camp, followed by 2 or 3 Rounds from Three Pieces of Cannon brought up within 116 Paces of the Ditch Ranging Our Battallions. Our Artillery was near 500 Paces distant, and the Horses Drivers not easily found, through confusion and darkness; Yet Such, was the Extraordinary cheerfullness of our Army, that They were almost as readily drawn up, to Receive them, as a Præinform'd expectation could have Posted y^m, tho: upon so Short & so dangerous a Warning; Six of Our Nearest Gunns were, with y^e greatest diligence imaginable advanced, Three upon the Right of the Scotts, and Three in the Front of the Kinges first Battalion; and did very considerable execution upon the Enemies; They Stood near an hour and halfe wth great Shouting and Courage, briskly fying; & then throwing down their Armes fell into Rout and Confusion; The Number of the Slaine wth about 300 Taken, according to y^e most Modest computacon might make up 1000, We Losing but 27 on the Spott and having ab^t 200 Wounded. A Victory very considerable where Providence was absolutely a greater Friend, then Our Own Conduct—The Dead in the Moor we Buried, and the Country People tooke care for y^e interm^t of those, slaine in the Corne fields. Coll Oglethorp was dispatch'd to give his Ma^{ty} intelligence of the Action. My Lord Feaversham hastens to Bridgwater, where it was reported, that the Remn^t of the Rebells were gon to Axbridge, to w^{ch} Place their Baggage, Waggon & One Gunn (Three being taken in the Field) had been sent, before They Attackt Us, assuring themselves such success in Our Ruin, as that it would little hinder Their intended March to Bristoll; it being most probable (had not God Almighty by an Express Providence Order'd Otherwise) They would have directly gon. This Evening Cap^t Parker was detach'd wth a Party of Horse to Wells, and so to Axbridge after y^e Baggage Expresses are sent to the King wth the particulars of this Action. Rested at Weston.

§ 7th We Marchd to Wells and Quarterd, Leaving Coll Kirke and Trelawneys Regiments to March to Bridgwater and the great Traine of Artillery to y^e Devizes. Two Rebells were hangd this Morning before the Army, the One a Dutch Gunner, the Other a Deserter [a word* erased here] Cap^{tn} Eely. Six more hangd at Glassenbury in Our March.

§ 8 Rested at Wells and Publique Thankes return'd for Our Victory. The Bishop of Winchester Preach'd. At Night we had Newes of Monm^o and Gray's being Taken near Ringwood. Many Volunteers depart for London.

* This erased word looks as though it had been "from."

- 29th Rested at Wells Nothing of Moment.
- 9 10 Our Foot Marchd to Froome and Encampd, & Our Horse to Warminster and Quarter'd.
- 11 The Scotts March to the Devizes. The Kinges Battalions to Warminster and Encamp. L^d Churchill L^d Feaversham and Duke of Grafton go to London.
- 12 Coll Sackville Command^r in chief Marches to Aimsbury, & the Traine of Artillery in y^e Afternoon towards Portsm^o—All going to their respective Posts.

CHAPTER III.

REVIEW OF EVENTS UP TO THE FLIGHT OF KING JAMES AND
ARRIVAL OF PRINCE OF ORANGE IN LONDON.

FROM 1685 to 1688.

CONTENTS.—King James reviews his Troops and augments his Army—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—King's efforts to increase the Standing Army—His dislike of the Militia—Anxious to repeal Test Act—Five Companies of the Regiment ordered to Portsmouth—Six remaining at Rochester—Six Companies at Rochester form part of Hounslow Camp—Particulars of the Regiment at Hounslow—Regiment ordered to Bristol—Four Companies ordered from Bristol to Bath, as Guard of Honour to Queen Dowager—Regiment removed to Pendennis Castle—Camp at Hounslow in June, 1687—Regiment has Artillery attached to it—Ordered to Plymouth—To Exeter and Taunton—Establishment of Regiment—French Intrigue—Regiment removed to Salisbury—Unpopularity of the King's acts—Regiment ordered to Windsor—Sent on guard at Medway—List of King's Forces—King neglects warnings of French King—Account of Intrigues against King—Landing of Prince of Orange and account of Forces—List of King's Fleet—Prince marches for London—King prepares to resist—Defection of Troops—Kirk joins the Prince—Prince of Denmark and Princess Ann join the Prince of Orange—Grief of the King—He leaves London—Is brought back—Prince arrives at Windsor—His treatment of the King—Final departure of the King—The Prince's Declaration to the Troops—Declines to declare himself King till Parliament offers him the Crown—First acts of the Prince on assuming paramount authority.

THE King had been very busy all the autumn, reviewing the different bodies of his troops in the metropolis and adjacent places. He had augmented his standing Army by six regiments of Horse, two of Dragoons, and nine of Foot. No doubt the order to march the Queen's Regiment to Hyde Park was given that he might inspect, with the newly-formed troops, one of the Tangier regiments that did him such good service at Sedgemoor.

A considerable number of troops were this year employed in work in the metropolis, sixpence per day being paid to each non-commissioned officer and soldier so employed.

This year gave England an accession of useful and capable citizens,

in the exiles driven from their homes by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, an event which took place on the 12th of October. This impolitic and cruel act of the French king lost France great numbers of loyal, virtuous, and useful citizens. The exiles soon engrafted themselves into the life of the nation, many of them rising high in the service of their newly-adopted country. Burnet, in recording the events of this year, including this shameful breach of faith of the French king, remarked, "I have ever reckoned this the fifth great crisis of the Protestant religion."* Half a million of Protestants were driven from their homes in France, taking with them, not only great wealth, but what was of far more value to the countries they took refuge in—their arts and manufactures. Fifty thousand of the fugitives are said to have landed in England. James openly blamed Louis, the French king, and received the French Protestants with open arms, admitting them without expense to all the privileges of English subjects.

Parliament reassembled on the 9th of November, and, naturally, the first act of the King was to compliment the two Houses upon the suppression of the Rebellion. He went on to say that, as he could not rely on the Militia, he was considering the necessity of keeping up a strong and well-disciplined standing Army for the security of the nation; he further informed them that he had employed some officers, in whose loyalty he could rely, though they were not qualified to hold commissions by virtue of the Test Act. Burnet animadverted severely on these acts of the King, who thus, immediately after crushing a rebellion, commenced action upon the two subjects which were most unacceptable to his Commons, namely, the establishment of a standing Army and the violation of the Test Act.†

The Commons, to mark their disapproval of the King's acts, reduced the supplies asked for from £1,200,000 to £700,000, at the same time sending him a project for making the Militia more useful, with a view to disbanding the Army.‡ They finished up their deliberations by sending an address to the King, asking that he would maintain the laws.

The King was most anxious for the repeal of the Test Act, and pressed Admiral Herbert (the same who had fought against the Moors at Tangiers) to vote for it, but he told the King he could not do it, "either in honour or conscience." Strong efforts were made to convert the leading men of the kingdom to the Catholic faith, but Burnet remarks, "They failed in most instances, and produced repartees that, whether true or false, were much repeated, and were heard with great satisfaction." One of these is related of Kirk, who, being solicited

* Burnet's Own Times, p. 420.

† Ibid, p. 424.

‡ Ibid, p. 425.

to change his religion, replied promptly, "that he was already pre-engaged, for he had promised the Emperor of Morocco that if ever he changed his religion he would turn Mahomedan." * Another sharp retort is told of the Duke of Norfolk, who, carrying the Sword of State before the King to the chapel, stopped at the door, upon which the King said, "My Lord, your father would have gone further," the Duke replying, "Your Majesty's father was the better man, and he would not have gone so far."

A decision of Lord Chief Justice Herbert, brother of the Admiral, in an action in the Court of King's Bench, brought by one Godden against his late master, Sir Edward Hales, to recover the penalty for his master evading the Test Act, gave great dissatisfaction. The Chief Justice gave judgment for the defendant and declared that the King had power to dispense with the penal laws in particular cases, and that this was not a trust committed to him by the people, "but the ancient remains of the sovereign prerogative, which had never been taken, nor could ever be taken, from the Kings of the realm."† This was practically making the English crown an absolute instead of a limited monarchy; and the dread of what was to follow caused many to resign their offices, and turned the thoughts of the nation for relief from the hand that was forging fetters for them similar to those they had before cast off.

The Regiment remained at Rochester till February, 1686, when, on the 16th, orders‡ were received for the five companies, commanded by Sir James Leslie, Captains Ely, Wingfield, Barber, and Giles, to march to Portsmouth, going by Maidstone, Sevenoaks, Reigate, Guildford, Liphook, Petersfield, to Portsmouth, where they were to arrive on the 27th, to be ready for embarkation to Ireland.

The companies at Rochester remained there (with the exception of a short march to Sittingbourne and Milton) till 21st April, when they were ordered to Kingston, preparatory to encamping at Hounslow, passing through Sevenoaks and Reigate. The companies sent to Ireland in February seem to have returned about this time, eleven companies being mentioned in marching orders.

On the 25th the Regiment marched from Kingston to Hounslow Heath, where it remained till August, forming part of a considerable number of troops which the King had brought to London to show that he was not to be thwarted, but would maintain his prerogative by force of arms if necessary. It is hard to conceive that the lesson

* Burnet, p. 435, and Savage's Taunton, p. 544.

† Declaration of Rights, Parliamentary History, Vol. CX.

‡ War Office Marching Orders, Vol. II., pp. 114-115.

which ought to have been learnt by the King from the experiences of his father's reign had had so little effect upon him. He seemed to be blindly rushing to his ruin.

The camp at Hounslow was a splendid sight; such a body of troops massed together had not been seen in England for a long time. The King passed much of his time there, and took great interest in all the proceedings. On the 30th a grand review of the whole of the troops took place. The day before the review he wrote to the Prince of Orange as follows:— *

WINDSOR, JUNE 29TH.

All the troops I intended to have at Hounslow are now camped there, in the new camp I designed for them; they continue very healthy, there having been but four buried since the first campaign of the Foot there. I was there yesterday and saw them for the first time in battale altogether; they are all good men, and the Horse and Dragoons well mounted, and all very orderly. To-morrow the Queen and my daughter are to dine with me in camp.

In the *London Gazette* it is stated reports had been circulated of the camp at Hounslow being so unhealthy that the soldiers were dying by hundreds. The King was exceedingly annoyed at this report, and had a notice inserted in the *Gazette* to the effect that only 138 had been returned sick and lame since the camp had been formed, and that many of them were ill when they came to the camp.

Before the camp broke up a warrant was issued (8th August) that "Field pieces of brass with three pound bullets, with such equipage as may be necessary," were to be issued to each regiment. These guns were to be in readiness to go with the "seven regiments of Foot to their respective quarters at the breaking up of the camp." The seven regiments were:—Two battalions of Scotch Guards, the 1st Royals, the Queen Dowager's Regiment (Queen's), Prince George's Regiment, the Holland Regiment, Earl of Bath's Regiment, and the Marquis of Worcester's Regiment. †

In King James's letters to the Prince of Orange much mention is made of the Hounslow Camp. As already noted, the Queen's Regiment arrived at Hounslow before the end of April. On the 7th May the King wrote to the Prince that he hoped to have twelve battalions there by the 20th of the month. The Horse and Dragoons were not to encamp before the middle of next month. A week later he wrote that, much rain having fallen had hindered the formation of the camp. By June 29th all the troops were in camp. The King went down to Hounslow on the 28th, and saw the troops for the

* Dalrymple, Vol. II., p. 103, Appendix.

† Domestic Entry Book, 1679-1687, No. 1.

first time in "Battalle" altogether. "They are all good men, and the Horse and Dragoons very well mounted, and all very orderly. To-morrow the Queen and my daughter are to dine with me at the camp." *

On the 2nd July he writes again, that he is "just ready to get on horseback to meet the Horse and Dragoons in the meadows, between this (Windsor) and Stains, and from thence am to dine in the camp with the Queen and Lord Arran." † There had, according to the King's letters, been much rain in camp, but the men continued very healthy. "In above a month," he writes, "that there has not one man died, and very few sick in hospital."

In the letters preserved in the Record Office in King William's Chest is one, unsigned, treating on different subjects. It is dated June 1st. One of the subjects relates to the use and service of martial law. The King, finding that the Judge of Common Law did not deal sufficiently resolutely with deserters when tried by common law, had called a Council of War to consider the matter. The council was held on Friday afternoon, the 28th May (o.s.), and it being strongly represented that deserters were not properly punished, it was agreed that no soldier henceforth was to be tried by the common or statute law, but by Court Martial or martial law.

A petition was presented to the War Office Minister, Mr. Blaithwayte, by a Mr. Suffield, in April, asking for payment of £600, advanced to officers of the Regiment through Mr. Thurloe, the late agent. The officers' pay having been received by the said agent, they naturally recommended that the remedy of Mr. Suffield was against the agent and not against the officers, particularly as Suffield was employed by Mr. Thurloe, and was not appointed by the Colonel, "as all agents ought to be." Mr. Suffield was, it appears, Paymaster of the Garrison of Portsmouth when the Regiment was in garrison there. ‡

The total number of the troops encamped, exclusive of officers, according to an account published at the time:—§

Cavalry on the right	...	...	...	1,410 men and horses.
" " left	...	...	...	960 " "
Dragoons	...	...	...	1,404
Infantry	...	...	...	6,370
Total	...	...	...	<u>10,144</u>

* Home Office, King William's Chest (formerly Sealed Bag), 1674-1686, No. 3.

† Ibid., No. 4.

‡ War Office Report Book, 1685-1711.

§ Scott's Army, Vol. III., pp. 544-545.

The Queen's Regiment was placed next to the Scots (Dumbarton's Regiment), which was on the left of the line; the Earl of Bath's Regiment being next to the Queen's. In the description of the troops the Queen's is stated as composed of ten companies of fifty men each. The Field Officers named are Charles (? Piercy) Kirk, Colonel; Kirk, Lieutenant-Colonel; James Lesley, Major. The uniform was "Red lined with green, green breeches, and white stockings." Kirk was one of the four Brigadiers; the others were Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Lanier, and Colonel Sackville. The King was "Generalissimo," and amongst the Generals were Lord Feversham and Lord Churchill.

The Horse and Foot were encamped in a direct line. Intervals between Horse Regiments were about fifty paces; between Foot about fifty paces. The Dragoons were half a mile from the left of the Horse in the same line. The guns were in front of the whole, and about one hundred paces from the front of the line.

On the 9th August orders * were sent for the Regiment to march from Hounslow to Bristol, passing through Staines and Egham, Ockingham, Reading, Newbury, Marlborough, Chippenham, Marshfield, to Bristol, where they were to arrive on the 20th August. Ten companies were to be quartered at Bristol and one at Chepston.

At the beginning of September the Queen Dowager went to Bath, to take the waters, and on the 5th the following order was sent to the Regiment:—

"Our Will and Pleasure is that upon Receipt hereof you forthwith cause Four Companies of our Dearest Sister the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot, under your command, to march from Bristoll to Bath, where they are to attend our said Dearest Sister During her stay in those Parts, and the officers are to take care that the soldiers behave themselves civilly in their march and pay their landlords. And We do hereby require all Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables, and other Our Officers whom it may concern to by aiding and assisting to them as y^e occasion shall require.

"Given at our Court at Windsor, the 5th of September, 1686.

"By His Majesty's command,

"W. B.

"To our Trusty and Wellbeloved Piercy Kirk, Esq., Coll. of Our Dearest Sister the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot, &c." †

On King James visiting Bristol the streets were lined on both sides with the Queen's Regiment, assisted by 200 masters of ships, on horseback, and 1,000 seamen.‡

A close and affectionate connection was evidently kept up between the Regiment and the Queen, for whose service it was raised.

* Marching Orders, Vol. II., p. 248.

† Ibid., p. 298.

‡ MSS. British Army, R.U.S. Inst.

The Regiment remained quartered at Bristol until March of the following year, when orders were received to remove to their old quarters at Pendennis Castle. They were to march to Axminster on the 1st, and arrive at Pendennis on Wednesday, the 16th.

On the 1st July, according to the Establishment Books, ten men were added to each of the thirteen companies, also one sergeant and one drummer. The extra cost per diem of this augmentation was £5 16s. 8d., and per annum £2,129 3s. 4d.

One company, according to an order dated 4th March, was at Chepston, and was on that day ordered to the Isle of Wight, taking ship at Southampton.

It would appear, from a letter * dated 6th May, that there had been some little trouble with the troops at Pendennis, as on that date Colonel Kirk received an order from the Secretary of War, William Blaithwayte, to the effect that as his Majesty had been informed of disorders committed at Pendennis by the late garrison to masters of ships that came into that harbour, he was to give strict orders to the officers that should command in that garrison, "not to stop or give any molestation to the Masters of ships or seamen that come thither or pass that way, either by detaining their vessells or exacting anything from them on any account whatsoever upon pain of His Ma^{ty} highest displeasure."

A petition was presented on 10th February, by Captain Thomas St. John, of the Queen's Regiment, asking for the restitution of the sum of £410 9s. He sets forth in his claim (which he substantiates by the certificate of Lord Churchill) that he had the pay and subsistence of the five companies of the Regiment put upon wagons that were hired to convey the arms, ammunition, and baggage. The companies being ordered to Wells with a guard of Dragoons, the wagons were captured by the Rebels. He testifies that the Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment absolved him from all blame, as he was at his post in the vanguard when the wagons were ordered to the rear. He estimates the value of the baggage (which he has reimbursed to the officers) at £200, and this, with the money lost, amounted to the £410 9s. claimed.

A petition was also presented by Colonel Kirk, on 15th June, with reference to a sum of £500, which was advanced on 21st June, 1685, to Richard Thurloe, the agent, for the use of the Regiment. The King, by a warrant dated 26th March, 1686, was pleased to declare that this sum should be considered as advanced for providing clothes for the Regiment; but the men for whom the clothing was intended

* War Office Title Book, 1684, W.B., p. 52.

having been disbanded on the reduction of the establishment, the clothes were not made use of. Colonel Kirk petitions that this sum of £500, which now appears as an advance against the Regiment, be given and allowed to the officers for the expense they were in for raising and disbanding the said recruits.*

On the 7th March the Regiment was ordered to Plymouth. The march was by Wells, Bridgewater, Wellington, Collampton, Exeter, Chudleigh, Ashburton, Brent, and Plymouth, leaving Head Quarters on the 14th and arriving at Plymouth on the 28th March. They remained at Plymouth till August, with one company at Pendennis and another at the Isle of Wight. On 14th August they were ordered to Exeter and Taunton; six companies were to remain at Exeter and five at Taunton—the latter comprising the companies on the outlying detachments. The company from the Isle of Wight was to land at Lymington and to march from there to Taunton.

A private, named William Deale, of the Queen's Regiment, was executed at Plymouth, for desertion. He was tried and convicted at Reading, and received sentence of death at King's Bench, the culprit being brought to Plymouth for execution.

A camp had been again formed at Hounslow in the summer of this year, the Queen's Regiment forming part of it, with five other regiments. Orders were issued, on the 19th May, for the assembly of the troops. Evelyn remarks,† “the commanders profusely vying in the expense and magnificence of tents.”

An announcement appeared in the *Gazette*, on the 30th May, that a camp would be formed, for the Foot on 7th June, and Horse and Dragoons on 22nd; and that, by his Majesty's command, a free market would be held at the said camp, when all persons would be encouraged to bring all sorts of provisions for men and horses without paying any fees.

A warrant was issued on the 5th June, for the train, &c., for the camp at Hounslow Heath. The complement for the Queen's Regiment was two three-pounder guns, new; the same to the Princess's Regiment; Colonel Cornwall's Regiment had two three-pounder Drakes; Colonel Sir Edward Hale's, Colonel Tufton's, and Colonel Buchan's two Falconets each.‡

During a visit of the King to the camp news was brought of the acquittal of the Bishops for refusing to read the King's declaration of indulgence. The King was being entertained in camp by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Feversham, when he was startled by the

* War Office Report Book, 1685-1711.

† Evelyn's Diary, p. 510.

‡ Domestic M. Entry Book, 1679-1687, No. 1 MS., p. 398.

acclamations of the soldiers in camp, and, on inquiring the cause of it, he was told it was "nothing but the soldiers' joy at the acquittal of the Bishops." "And call you that nothing?" said the King. It was indeed something, when the troops, who should have been devoted to him, cheered his Judges for acquitting the Prelates who had disobeyed his orders.

In the Audit Office Enrolments are two papers, dated September 27th and November 13th, the former granting letters of administration to Piercy Kirk, who had been appointed administrator of the goods and chattels of Phillip Kirk, Esq., late of the Parish of St. Martin's-in-Fields, and the latter being a warrant for the appointment of Piercy Kirk, Esq., "Colonel of our deceased sister Catherine Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot," to be Housekeeper of the Palace of Whitehall, *vice* Phillip Kirk, deceased.*

The establishment of the Regiment on the 1st November, according to the Harleian papers, was thirteen companies of sixty men each, or 780 men, and the cost of the Regiment per diem, £44 4s. 8d.†

In the autumn the King made a journey in the West, the Queen going at the same time to Bath to take the waters.

The King's object in this journey was to conciliate the Dissenters, but he was, according to Burnet, very obliging to all who came near him, and even went so far, in his complaisance and his desire to gain some popularity, as to look graciously on "all that had been of the Duke of Monmouth's party." At the end of two weeks, after going round from Salisbury as far as Chester, he suddenly gave up and rejoined the Queen at Bath. He stayed there two or three days, and then he returned to London, much chagrined at the ill-success of his journey.

The King, after the suppression of the Monmouth Rebellion, had sent the two Dutch Brigades of English troops that had been sent over to assist him back to Holland, but he now turned his thoughts to them again. He had taken a dislike to English Catholic troops being in the service of a Protestant Republic, and he therefore resolved to send them to France. Louis declined to receive them, but offered (as he was desirous of reuniting England to the Communion of the Church of Rome to further his own views of policy) to maintain 2,000 soldiers in England, at his own cost, provided that they were Roman Catholics; an offer which King James gratefully accepted.

A letter ‡ of the French Ambassador, Barillon, to King Louis, dated

* Audit Office Enrolments.

† Harleian MSS., 7,018, p. 7.

‡ Dalrymple II., Appendix to Book V., pp. 134-136.

13th October, gives interesting particulars of this intrigue of France. Barillon wrote that it would be a "mortifying displeasure to the Prince of Orange to see the troops recalled from Holland pass into your Majesty's (King Louis) service." Lord Tyrconnel, it would appear from Dalrymple, was the person who first suggested this, one of the most discreditable acts of King James, viz., the maintenance of three English regiments for the King's service by a foreign and rival power. The States of Holland, however, were equal to the occasion; they refused to send the regiments to England, alleging they were not bound to do so unless the King required them for a war or for an insurrection at home. These six regiments afterwards did good service for King William when he landed in England.

The Regiment remained at Exeter and Taunton till March, 1688. On the 25th of that month it was ordered to Salisbury. An independent company of Grenadiers, commanded by Captain Godolphin, "Governour of our Island of Scilly," was ordered to join the Regiment for duty at Salisbury, going *via* Southampton. This company was in June incorporated into the Regiment, making the thirteenth company. The establishment of the Regiment in April is given as twenty-seven sergeants, thirty-nine corporals, fourteen drummers, and 638 privates. On the 18th of April six of the companies at Salisbury were ordered to do duty at Windsor; five in the Castle and one at Egham and Staines. The Duke of Norfolk, Constable of Windsor, was ordered to admit them into the Castle, "and give such orders concerning their duty there as he should think fit."

On the 17th January the King wrote a formal note from Whitehall to the Prince of Orange, asking for the return of the English regiments there. The States, in reply, gave permission for as many of the officers as chose to return to England, but refused to allow the regiments to go. King James was very angry at this, and wrote three letters, dated February 16th, March 2nd and 13th, expostulating with the Prince of Orange. In his last note he writes:—"And sure 'tis the first instance, and I believe will be the last, wherever subjects were refused the liberty to return back, when demanded, to serve their Prince."* In the letter of the King to the Prince of Orange, here referred to, the King writes:—"I think it for my service to call for home the six regiments of my subjects which are under your command in the States' service. . . . I hope you will do your best to further their being embarked as soon as may be."

On the 16th February he writes, rather indignantly, that the States

* Dalrymple II., Appendix, Book V., pp. 140-141

were making difficulties about the return of the soldiers in the regiments, while the officers were allowed to return, "they being equally all his subjects."

On the 2nd of March a proclamation was made in the *London Gazette*, requiring all natural born subjects in the pay of the States to return to England, notwithstanding the States' refusal. On this proclamation being known in Holland many made their escape to England, and on arrival were, with the addition of other men, made into three regiments. On the 26th July, 1688, the French Ambassador wrote to his Court that he had given Lord Godolphin "93,440 livres tournois for the first two months' pay of the three regiments."*

One of the most ill-advised acts of King James was the attempt to abrogate the Tests Act. Most of the Lords-Lieutenant, when ordered to assist in this, declined to comply, and some resigned; others were removed from their offices—amongst them was the veteran Earl of Oxford, Lord-Lieutenant of Essex, who had commanded his Regiment of Horse for twenty-six years. A great shock was given to the King when he sounded the military as to how far they would go with him in his arbitrary acts. The Mayor of Litchfield's Regiment, quartered at Blackheath, when addressed by the King, threw down their arms rather than comply with the views he expressed.†

On the 12th May the Regiment was ordered to march, "so soon as the said Regiment shall be relieved at Windsor, to Hounslow and Brentford, and the next day to Southwark;" on Friday, the 25th, they proceeded from London to Gravesend, passing through Dartford, Erith, Crayford, Wellington, and Bexley. On arrival at Gravesend a detachment was sent on to Sheerness.

Dalrymple,‡ in reviewing the state of affairs at this time, says that King James was lulled into a fatal security by the Minister, Sunderland; but it appears, from the following order to the Regiment, that precautions were taken against a surprise.

"The Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot, upon the coming of any Foreign Fleet, to march to Strode, &c.

"Our Will and pleasure is that upon notice from our Gov^r, Lieut.-Gov^r, or Officer in Chief, at our Fort of Sheerness, of the coming of any Foreign Fleet, into the Mouth or Channell of the River Thames, you cause our Dearest Sister, the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot, under your Command to march forthwith to Strode, Freutbury, Upnor Castle, and Forte adjacent on this side the River Medway, where they are to obey such orders as they shall receive from the Officer in Chief commanding our Forces in our County of Kent, and the

* Dalrymple II., Appendix, Book V., p. 141.

† Scott's British Army, Vol. III., p. 553.

‡ Dalrymple II., Appendix to Book V., p. 152.

officers, &c., &c., and all Magistrates, &c. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 29th day of May, 1688, &c.*

"To our Trusty and Well beloved Piercy Kirk, Esq., one of y^e Brigadiers of our Forces, and Colⁿ. of our Dearest Sister the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot, &c., &c.

"By his Majesty's Command,
"W. B."

A detachment, consisting of two captains, two lieutenants, two ensigns, and 100 men, were ordered to march, on the 10th of June, from Gravesend, so as to be at Stepney on the 23rd inst., from whence they were to march, at such times as should be appointed by the King, to the "Tower of London," and to do such duty there, &c., &c.

On Saturday, the 21st June, another detachment of "forty men and officers proportioned," were sent to "Tunbridge Wells," to attend the "Princess Ann of Denmark" during her stay in those parts.

On the 13th July two detachments from the Regiment were sent to the Blackhouse, at Gravesend, and Tilbury Fort.

The depôt of the Regiment remained at Gravesend till 6th August, when it was ordered to Southwark; the detachments at "Blackhouse," "Tilbury," and "Tunbridge Wells," were ordered to join the Regiment. On the 14th the Regiment was removed to "Hamlets of our Tower of London."

On the 27th September the Regiment was ordered to march to Rochester, Stroud, and Chatham; leaving a detachment of fifty men at "Sheerness."

In the papers preserved in the Home Office, formerly in King William's Sealed Bag, there is a most interesting and valuable letter addressed to "His Highness," in which the cyphers 25, 24, 29, 31, 35, and 33 occur. These cyphers are elsewhere explained to be the names of the Lords Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, and Lumley; the Bishop of London and Mr. Russell (afterwards Lord Orford). The letter refers to the desperate condition the nation is in by reason of the arbitrary acts of the present Government. The writers assure the Prince that nineteen parts of the people out of twenty throughout the kingdom are desirous of a change, and that the nobles and gentry and people are so dissatisfied that, if his Highness were to land and lead them, they make no doubt that in a short time he could command an army twice as large as now exists. The letter also refers to the great probability of numbers of soldiers deserting the King, and avers that in the Fleet there was not one in ten that would stand by the present Government.†

* War Office Marching Book, 1687, Vol. III., pp. 139-140.

† Home Office, King William's Chest (formerly Sealed Bag), 1670-1688, No. 1.

The King had now, by his arbitrary acts, become so unpopular, that it was with difficulty he could command the allegiance of his subjects. He continued to augment his forces. Four new regiments of Horse, commanded respectively by the "Marquis de Miremont" (nephew to the Earl of Feversham), Lord Brandon, Colonel Slingsby, and Colonel Holman; and five new regiments of Foot, commanded by Colonel Richards, Colonel Gage, the Duke of Newcastle, Colonel Skelton, and Colonel Douglas, were added to the standing Army. In addition to these there were independent troops of Horse and ten independent companies of Foot. The following abstract of the forces, and quarters of the troops, are taken from the "Dartmouth MSS." :—*

**ABSTRACT OF THE NUMBERS OF ALL HIS MAJESTY'S
FORCES IN ENGLAND.**

20TH OCTOB., 1688.

				Comis. Officers.	Non. Com. Officers.	Privat Soldiers.	Particular Totall.	Generall Totall.		
English	Old Forces	Horse	{ Nine Regts with 4 Troops of Guards & Grads .. Recruits added to them ..	333	377	3490 550	4200 550	4750		
		Foot	{ Nineteen Regts & one Independt Compa .. Recruits added to them ..	862	1715	13750 3800	16327 4426		20753	
			Dragoons	{ Three Regiments .. Recruits added to them ..	96	186	1000 200			1281 200	1481
		New Forces	Horse	{ Four Regiments .. Seven Independt Troops ..	112	124	1200 1200		1436 1436	1849
	Foot		{ Five Regiments .. Twelve Independant Companys ..	215	520	3900 852	4635 852	5487		
						36	96		720		852
				1778	3582	38960				
	Scots Forces	Horse	{ Troop of Guards .. Majr Genl Graham's Regiment ..	8	5	120 800	133 854	487		
			Foot	{ Regiment of Guards .. Coll Buchan's Regiment ..	46	100	1120 700		1266 845	2111
				Dragoons	{ Earl of Dunmore's Regt ..	29	54		800		883	883
			153	288	2540					
Irish Forces		Foot	{ Battallion of Guards .. Two Regiments more ..	22	56	560 1300		2180		
			Dragoons	{ Coll Butler's Regiment ..	46	90	500		636	2816
				154	302	2260				
	Totall..			2085	4172	38960		40117		
Memdm										
Two Troops of Horse more are since Orda to be raised, which increases the last Totall by				40117	118					
				40235						

* Dartmouth MSS., 1688. Dets. 16-31,

QUARTERS OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES.

(DARTMOUTH MSS., 1688, OCT. 16—31.)

OLD FORCES.

Regiments.	Quarters.
Four Troops of Horse	} London.
Guards	
Four Troops of Grenadiers ..	London.
Royal Regt of Horse ..	Hounslow, &c.
Queen's Regiment ..	Colchester.
Earl of Peterborow's ..	Colchester.
Sr John Fenwick's ..	{ Beaconsfield, Edgeworth.
Majr-Gen ^l Werden's ..	{ 2 Bromley, 8 Croydon, 1 Cashalton.
Earl of Arran's ..	Ipswich.
Coll. Hamilton's ..	Ipswich.
Princess's Regiment ..	Maidston.
	{ 1 Portsmouth. 2 Guildford.
Queen Dowager's Regt ..	
	{ 1 Ripley, &c. Southwark.
Royal Regt of Dragoons ..	Battersea.
	{ Greenwich, &c. Ipswich.
Queen's Regiment ..	
Princess's Regiment ..	Colchester.
First Regt of Foot Guards ..	London.
Coldstream Regt of Foot	} London.
Guards	
	{ Gravesend. 5 additional
Royal Regt of Foot ..	{ Comp ^s Deptford and
	{ Greenwich. Rochester, Stroud
Queen Dowager's Regt ..	
	{ & Chatham, 50 men Hamlets.
Prince George's Regt ..	
	{ Mile End, White- chapel.
Holland Regiment ..	{ Rochester, Stroud
	{ & Chatham, 50 men Hamlets.
Queen's Regiment ..	
	{ Southwark and Rotheriff.
Royal Regiment of Fus- iliers	
Princess's Regiment ..	Tower.
	{ Portsmouth. 6 Chester.
Coll. Cornwall's Regt ..	{ 3 Carlisle. 1 Tinnmouth.
	{ 1 Hull. 1 Chepstow.
	{ 1 Greenwich. 8 Jersey.
Earl of Bath's Regt of Foot	
	{ 8 Guernsey. 7 Tilbury.
Lord Montgomery's ..	{ 11 Hull. 1 Cheshire.
	{ 1 London. 11 Dartford.
Earl of Litchfield's ..	
	{ 1 St. Mary's Cray. 1 Lambeth.
	{ 50 men Hamlets. 11 Plimouth.
Earl of Huntingdon's ..	
	{ 2 Ongars. 2 Portsmouth.
Sr Edward Hales's ..	
Coll. Tufton's ..	Berwick.
	{ Milton and Sit- tingburn, 200
Coll. Hales's ..	
	{ men Sheerness. 100 Land Guards
Coll. M ^o Elligolt ..	Foot.
	Portsmouth.

SCOTS FORCES.

Regiments.	Quarters.
First Battallion ..	Hull.
Second Battallion ..	St. Albans.
Coll. Bochan's Regt ..	Ware, &c.
Coll. Wachop's Regt ..	Ware, &c.
Troop of Guards ..	Bishp Stafford.
Regiment of Horse ..	Cambridge.
Regim. of Dragoons ..	Royston.

IRISH FORCES.

Battall. of Guards ..	Holborn, &c.
Lord Forbis's Regt of Foot	Barnett, &c.
Coll. Hamilton's ..	Deptford, &c.
Coll. Butler's Regt of Dragoons	Colebrook, &c.

NEW LEVYS.

Marq. de Miremonts Regt of Horse	{ Kingston, &c. Wickham, &c.
Lord Brandon's ..	
Coll. Slingaby's ..	Maidenhead,
Coll. Holman's ..	Darwin, &c.
Coll. Richards's Regt of	East Grinstead, &c.
Foot	Windsor and
Coll. Gage's ..	Maidenhead.
	Preston, &c.
Duke of Newcastle's ..	Newcastle-upon-
	Tyne.
Coll. Skeltons ..	Bedford.
Coll. Douglass's ..	Reading.

Memdm.—A Comission is given to Col. Oearn for a Regim^t of 18 Comp^s, but the orders for Raising are respited.

INDEPENDENT TROOPS.

James, Earl of Salisbury ..	{ Hatfield in Hart- fordsh.
Lord Baltimore ..	
Sr John Yate ..	Epsom.
Sr John Gifford ..	Oxford.
Sr Thomas Burton ..	Chertsey.
Sr William Rolford ..	Puckridge.
The Visct. Fz. Williams ..	Marlow.
Thomas Eccleston ..	Putney.
Sr Gilbert Gerard ..	Luton.
	Durham.

INDEPENDENT COMPANYS.

George Coney ..	Hownsalov.
Anthony Powre ..	Harrow-y ^e Hill.
Edward Braughall ..	Sevenoke.
Matthew Smyth ..	Westminster.
Henry Davis ..	Chepstow.
Richard Smyth ..	Chelsea, &c.
Henry Crofton ..	Marybone.
William Gibbins ..	Stevensedge.
Edward Picking ..	Chelsea, &c.
Maurice Flynn ..	London.

Memdm.—Comissions were given out for two other Independent Comp^s, but the Capt^s are since prefer'd elsewhere.

Endorsed,
30th Octobr. 1688,
Quarters of his Maj^{ty} Forces.

These most interesting and valuable papers give the accurate number of the old and new forces, and where they were quartered just previous to the landing of the Prince of Orange. It will be seen to differ little from the estimate made by other historians, the total number being 40,235. A list of the British Army in November, quoted by Sir D. Sebald Scott, from Cannon,* and Harleian MSS. (principally Harleian MSS., No. 4,847), gives details of all the regiments, with the totals. In these papers the number of the English troops is given as 30,637; Scotch, 3,763; and Irish, 2,818; or a total of 37,218 (Cavalry, 9,545; Infantry, 27,673).† The papers also give the strength of the Queen Dowager's Regiment as 809.

The establishment of the Regiment had been increased, on the rumours of the Prince of Orange's invasion, by one sergeant, one drummer, and ten privates to each battalion company, and by ten privates only to the grenadier company, making an addition to the strength of the Regiment of twenty-four non-commissioned officers and 130 privates; total, thirteen companies of sixty men in each company.

In November the matchlock muskets in the possession of this and other regiments were changed for Snaphances.

The disposition given of the troops in London by Dalrymple differs from that given by Scott.‡ The list of troops given by Scott is dated 1st of November, while the Dartmouth MSS. are dated 30th October. As the latter are complete, and as the dates only differ by two days, there can have been no great movement of the troops, though it is possible the seven regiments of Horse mentioned therein had changed their quarters and been removed to London.

King James seems at this critical period (August and September) to have been very supine, and though repeatedly warned by the French king of the imminence of the danger that threatened him, he continued to place confidence in his Minister, Lord Sunderland, who professed to believe that the Prince had no design to make a descent on England, and that if he did land, no man who had any property would declare for him.§ The French king sent his Ambassador, "Barillon," a full detail of the Prince of Orange's preparations, and charged him to beg the King to prepare himself, *Par terre et par mer*, for the emergency. ||

A note of Lord Dartmouth, in Bishop Burnet's History, gives particulars of King James's infatuated confidence in his Minister, Sunderland. The King of France had warned King James that

* Cannon's Dragoon Guards, pp. 3-4.

† Scott's British Army, Vol. III., p. 567.

‡ Ibid, p. 564.

§ Dalrymple, II., Appendix to Book V., p. 156.

|| Ibid, p. 153.

he had certain intelligence that the Prince of Orange meditated a descent upon England, and he proposed, in order to engage the Dutch troops, that he himself should immediately besiege Maestricht. He begged King James to keep this proposal of his from the knowledge of his Ministers. Very soon after the States ordered 6,000 troops to Maestricht. The French king at once wrote to know if King James had revealed the secret to anybody, and the King replied that he had to none but Sunderland, who he said was too much in his interest to have betrayed it. Upon this Louis remarked that he saw plainly that "King James was a man cut out for destruction, and there was no possibility of helping him." *

In spite of all this it was not until the 18th of October that the King actually sent for his Irish and Scotch troops; but it was too late. The party in England who were intriguing for the "Prince of Orange" had, in June, given him a definite invitation to come over. This message was sent by the members of an association formed for joining him when he should arrive. The invitation was signed by the Lords "Devonshire," "Danby," "Shrewsbury," "Lunley," the "Bishop of London," "Admiral Herbert," and "Mr. Sidney," and is dated 30th June. Of this historical document Dalrymple writes:—"Immortal seven, whose memories Britain can never sufficiently revere."

In this paper the signatories assure the Prince that nineteen-twentieths of the people in the kingdom desire a change, and would willingly contribute to it if such a protection was given them as would secure them from being destroyed; that there was no doubt that a considerable number of the nobles and gentry, being greatly dissatisfied, would join the Prince on his first landing; and that very many of the soldiers who daily showed their aversion to the Popish religion would desert and join. If, after full consideration, the Prince should design to attempt the landing, he was to consult Mr. H. † "No time should be lost in letting them know his resolution."

Amongst the numerous persons named by Dalrymple, of those who at this "critical period" exerted themselves most effectually in the service of the "Prince of Orange" were the Admirals "Russel" and "Herbert"; and those who were thought to have conferred the greatest obligations upon the "Prince of Orange" were "Lord and Lady Sunderland" and "Lord and Lady Churchill."

* Dalrymple, II., Appendix to Book V., pp. 166-167.

† Admiral Herbert, who commanded the Fleet in Tangiers, and fought with his seamen in the fights of 1680,

The "Duke of Grafton" got a promise from two-thirds of the captains of the Fleet that they would not oppose the Prince, and "Lieutenant Bing," afterwards Earl of Torrington, was intrusted by the Duke of Ormond and General Kirk with the task of gaining over those officers of the Fleet that the Duke of Grafton could not approach.

The Prince had been very active all the summer in his preparations, hiring transports and preparing fleet boats for disembarkation. He collected arms for vast bodies of troops and gathered great trains of Artillery from the different towns. Large Cavalry stores were got ready, and he gave orders for 7,000 soldiers and 9,000 seamen to be equipped as soon as the sanction of the States could be obtained to enrol them.

On the 19th October, his preparations being complete, the Prince sailed from the "Brille" and "Helvoetsluys." The Fleet consisted of fifty men-of-war, twenty-five frigates, twenty-five fire ships, and 500 transports, conveying 15,200 men, which number included 556 officers.* Another authority † gives the particulars of the expedition as follows:—10,692 Foot and 3,660 Horse and Dragoons; the Fleet consisting of sixty-five men-of-war, 500 fly boats, sixty pinks, and ten fire ships. Admiral Herbert was in chief command of the Fleet. A great storm drove them back, 900 horses having to be thrown overboard. Much was made of this misfortune, and King James was led to believe that the expedition was ruined. The Prince soon repaired his Fleet, and set sail again on the 1st of November. On the 3rd the Dutch Fleet was seen between Dover and Calais. It is said that it took seven hours to pass, and the line of ships extended to seven leagues.

Lord Dartmouth received from King James on the 1st of October a warrant, placing him in command of the Fleet to resist the Dutch attack. He was to take full command, and was to endeavour by all hostile means to "sinke, burne, take," and otherwise destroy and disable "the invading Fleet, and to look out for and attaque the same." He was to give frequent accounts of his proceedings to the Secretary of the Admiralty, Pepys.‡

On the 5th the King wrote to his Admiral that he had had an express from Abbeville, informing him that it was the intention of the Dutch to engage the English Fleet and to land in the "Isle of Thanet."§ On the 8th he writes, with further instructions, and says

* Macpherson's History of Great Britain, Vol. I., p. 523.

† Detection of the Court and State of England, Vol. II., p. 405.

‡ Dartmouth MSS., 1688, October 1-16.

§ Ibid.

he is glad to hear the Fleet is in good heart. The following is the disposition of the Fleet as given in the Dartmouth papers:—*

THAT THE FLEET BE DIVIDED AS FOLLOWS:—

Lord Dartmouth, Adm ^l . His division. Pylot's Rates.	Sir Rog ^r Strickland, Vice-Adm ^l . His division. Rates.	Sir John Berry, Rear-Adm ^l . His division. Rates.
Resolution (? Resolution) 3	Mary ... 3	Elizabeth ... 3
Pendinnes ... 3	Cambridge ... 3	Defyance ... 3
Mountague ... 3	Rupert ... 3	Henrietta ... 3
Plymouth ... 3	Dreadnought ... 3	Yorke ... 3
Nonsuch ... 4	Assurance ... 4	Court Warwicke ... 4
Advice ... 4	Jersey ... 4	Mordaunt ... 4
Dover ... 4	Bristol ... 4	Ruby ... 4
St. Albans ... 4	Newcastle ... 4	Woolwich ... 4
Crowne ... 4	Diamond ... 4	Antilope ... 4
Centerian (? Centurion) 4	Swallow ... 4	Foresight ... 4
St. David ... 4	Deptford ... 4	Greenwich ... 4
Bonadventure ... 4	Portsmo ... 4	Faulcon ... 4
Firedrake ... 6	Larke ... 6	Londadoes ... 6
Quaker Ketch ... 6		
Fire { Rose Sally, Prize. Ships. { Dartmouth. { Guernsey. { Guardland.	Fire { Halfe Moon. Ships. { Richmond. { Cignett. { Speedwell.	Fire { Elizabeth and Stuart. Ships. { Pearce. { Swan. { Sophia.

That every Capt wear his pendant according to the division he is in, and (as much as in them lyes), keep company with their respective flags, endorsed October 1688. Distribution of the Fleet under y^e command of Lord Dartmouth.

On the 14th the King sent another letter to Lord Dartmouth, in which he informed him that Admiral Herbert was to command the Dutch Fleet, and was ordered to engage him (Dartmouth) while the Prince, with eight men-of-war under Tromp, was to protect the Army while landing. After informing him that the Scotch and Irish troops were marching as fast as they could to join the King's forces, he writes:—"I make no doubt but that God will protect me, and prosper my arms, both by land and by sea.!!" In a later note, on the 20th, he writes, that he "grows stronger every day by land, the Scots and Irish coming nearer, and by the forwardness of the newly-raised troops." A letter of the 24th from Lord Dartmouth informed the King that he had arrived with the Fleet at "Gunfleet," all in good condition, to which the King replied on the 26th, with news of the disaster to the Dutch by storms. This news, sent by "Marquis de Abbeville" on the 2nd November, gave the particulars he had

* Dartmouth MSS., 1688, October 1-15.

learned from a Roman Catholic pilot who came from the Fleet. This man told him (Abbeville) that he was all day in a vessel that carried "Lord Macclesfield" and several gentlemen of quality, including "Ferguson," and that "Lord Macclesfield," who had just come from the Prince, said they must steer their course for the "Humber," if the wind would permit, so as to land as far from the King's Army as possible. This was to enable the troops to have time to organise. "Abbeville" had employed three of these Catholic pilots as spies in the Fleet. He reported a ship, full of soldiers, lost in the storm, and 1,000 horses perished and unserviceable. The Prince had given orders that none should absent themselves from the ships.

Mr. Sanders, surveyor, of Harwich, sent a letter by Captain Hoskins, giving interesting particulars of the Fleet:—

"Last Saturday was senight the Fleet sailed with y^e prince aboard, but by reason of y^e Winds coming to y^e Westward, y^e tenders went into Goree, and 150 Hoses killed outright, besides others disabled. Admiral Herbett (Herbert) commands y^e flagg. Their colours are White with red Crosses. The Princes flagg is White with y^e princesses Arms suported by a Lion and Unicorn. Their fforce consists of 6,000 Horse and 22,000 ffoot, which comes in the Tenders, which are 600 Sail. Tuesday last we came through y^e whole Fleet of Hollanders, y^a is Men of War and ffire ships, and rideing between Goree and y^e 'Maes' y^e Maes N.E. of them, consisting of about 60 Sail, or 65 at y^e most." He further writes:—"At Orfordness there is between 40 and 50 Sail of Ostenders and 'Dunkirkers' with french commissions."* Another authority † gives an estimate of the troops as 10,692 Foot, 3,660 Horse and Dragoons; total, 14,352. The Fleet is given as sixty-five men-of-war, 500 fly boats, sixty pinks, and ten fire ships; total 635 ships. The winds were as favourable for the invading hosts of the Prince as they were unfavourable for the unhappy King, whose fortunes were rapidly nearing their darkest hour.

According to Burnet the Dutch Fleet tried to make its way northwards, but the wind "was so strong and full in the east that we could not move that way." Orders were then given to steer westward. Dalrymple says that the Prince steered northwards for twelve hours, in order that the advance packets who were watching his Fleet might be deceived. The stratagem appears to have succeeded.

As soon as the packets disappeared and night came on he made a signal to alter course and sail westward. The Dutch Fleet was

* Dartmouth MSS., 1688, October 16-31.

† Detection of the Court and State of England. Roger Coke. London, 1719.

divided into three squadrons, on board of which were troops of different nations.

The English and Scotch were commanded by General "McKay," and sailed under the Red Flag; the Prince's Guards and the Brandenburgers, commanded by Count Solms, sailed under the White Flag; the Dutch, with Protestant refugees, commanded by Count Nassau, a relation of the Prince, sailed under the Blue Flag. Admiral Herbert led the van of the Fleet, the Dutch Admiral, Evertzen, brought up the rear, and the Prince commanded in the centre—his ship carrying the flag of England and his own arms, with his motto, "Je Maintiendray," and which the Prince turned into the motto, "I will maintain the Protestant religion and the liberties of England." When they got in sight of England the Prince changed his ship and sailed at the head of all, so as to be first in the post of danger, carrying his flag with him. The wind kept the English Fleet imprisoned at Gunfleet, so that the Prince had an open way before him. On the third day after leaving Holland they came in sight of the Isle of Wight. Bishop Burnet writes,* that he was in the van "with the Prince's other domestics," and relates that at noon, on the 4th November, Admiral Russel came on board his ship, with the best of the English pilots that had been brought over.

When the morning of the 5th broke they found that they were past Torbay, where they intended to land. Fortunately the wind changed, "turned to the south," and a soft and happy gale of wind carried in the whole Fleet in four hours time into "Torbay." As soon as they were at anchor the Prince and Schonberg landed, and, engaging horses at "Broxholme," started at once to reconnoitre the ground for the troops.

It was a most extraordinary circumstance that the winds seemed to fight for the Prince, for, after he had landed, Lord Dartmouth had got with his Fleet as far as the Isle of Wight when another storm arose and drove him back to Portsmouth. All chances of help from the King's Fleet were thus for ever gone. According to Dalrymple,† the Fleet had been tampered with. A meeting had, it appears, been held in London, attended by the Duke of Ormond, General Kirk, Captain Aylmer, and others. Kirk recommended that Byng, an officer under Captain Ashby, of the *Defiance*, should be intrusted with the delicate task of gaining over the Captains Ashby and Woollred Cornwall—the latter in command of the ship *Dartmouth*—both of them zealous for the King and in great credit with the Fleet.

* Burnet's *Own Times*, p. 499.

† Dalrymple *Memoirs*, Vol. II., Appendix to Book VI., p. 228.

On the 8th November the Prince marched into Exeter, sending his baggage by sea to meet him there. He was troubled, like the unfortunate Monmouth, with the discomforts of bad weather, and was considerably perplexed and disappointed by his reception at Exeter. The terrors of the Jeffreys executions made all cautious. After a week spent at Exeter, during which time he made no progress, he at last lost his temper, and threatened to re-embark his troops and to leave "the people of England and their King to settle their differences at their leisure, amongst themselves," and to direct the King where to find his disloyal subjects by transmitting him the secret correspondence. At last the people began to have confidence in him and his cause, and the Prince had soon no reason to complain of want of adherents. He did not, however, hesitate to tell them "that he had come upon their invitation, and expected them sooner."* He soon got a taste of the high spirit and pride of the old English families, for, on his observing to Sir Edward Seymour, one of the first gentlemen of condition who came over to him, that he believed he was of the "Duke of Somerset's" family, Sir Edward replied, "No, sir; the Duke is of mine."

In the meantime King James had ordered an assemblage of his troops at Salisbury, and had appointed Lord Feversham Commander-in-Chief, with Lord Churchill, Colonels R. Werden and James Douglas, Lieutenant-Generals; Sir John Lanier, Colonels Edward Sackville (of Tangiers fame), Piercy Kirk, Graham, and Richard Hamilton, Major-Generals. The Irish Guards were at Farnham and the Scots Guards at Northampton.† The advanced portion of the King's Army was at Warminster, Kirk's Brigade there being composed of two battalions of the First Royals, the Queen's, and the Tangier Horse (who had been newly named the Queen Consort's Regiment of Horse), and a troop of Life Guards. Lanier's division was at Salisbury and Fenwick's at Marlborough. Lanier's instructions were to advance to Warminster as soon as the Commander-in-Chief should arrive. Now came the first great shock to the King, in the defection of a part of his Army; Lord Cornbury, commanding the Royal Dragoons, and Lieutenant-Colonel Langston, of the Eighth, being the first to go over to the Prince of Orange. Most of the troops, to their credit, refused to betray their King, and were led back by Major Clifford, of the Royal Dragoons, and Major Littleton, of the Horse Guards.

* Dalrymple, Vol. II., p. 197.

† Hamilton's Guards, Vol. I., p. 304.

Lieutenant-Colonel Langston conducted some of the King's troops into the camp of Major-General Talmash, at Honiton; but most of them refused to join the Prince and returned to the King's camp.

This defection of the troops greatly encouraged the adherents of the Prince, and sowed distrust and suspicion in the Army of James.

The Protestant Lords then in London presented a petition for the immediate meeting of a free Parliament, to which the King assented, but with the proviso that it should only be granted when the Prince of Orange had quitted the kingdom. The same day King James left for Salisbury. Just before his departure he called before him such general officers as were then in town. Amongst others, the Duke of Grafton, Lord Churchill, and General Kirk, attended. The King informed them what he had promised his Peers, and further told them that whatever more they should demand he would grant. Afterwards, in a right royal and kingly spirit, he said, "But, after all, if any of you is not satisfied, let him freely declare himself. I am willing to grant passes to such as choose to join the Prince of Orange, and to spare them the pain of deserting their lawful Sovereign."* On the 19th November the King arrived at Salisbury, and on the same day his officers, in a body, expressed their abhorrence of the desertion of Lord Cornbury and the others.

The King, regaining some confidence in his troops, resolved next day to visit the advanced portion at Warminster; but a sudden bleeding at the nose, to which the agitating circumstances of the last few days had subjected him, prevented him. Had he done so it is probable that a different page in history might have been written, as a plot had been formed to deliver him up to the Prince, and in case of resistance to dispatch him.

On news arriving in the Prince's camp of the King's arrival at Salisbury, the Prince marched out of Exeter, and on the 20th the outposts of the two armies met at a place called Wincanton. The result was favourable to the Prince. A passer-by alarmed the King's party by stating that he had just met a strong body of the Prince's Army entering the town, upon which the Royal troops retreated. This simple outpost skirmish was magnified into a great defeat of the King's troops.

On the 21st November the King reviewed all the troops assembled at Salisbury; and now came the second great blow to the King. The Earl of Feversham and others, at a Council of War, had urged the King to retire with the Army on London; the Duke of Grafton, Lord Churchill, and others, advised his maintaining his ground at Salisbury.

* Macpherson, Vol. I., p. 529.

The King decided on the former plan, and the troops about Salisbury were ordered, on the 23rd of November, to march towards London.

Major-General Kirk, with his division, was ordered to march to East Levington. The following * is a copy of the order to Kirk :—

Salisbury, 23rd Nov^{br}, 1688.

"To Major-Gen^l Kirke." Sir,

His Majesty having ordered all the Foot to march towards London, and having this morning received intelligence that the Enemy is moving towards "Cvill," is pleased by the enclosed order to direct the march of all the troops now remaining at "Warminster," and commands me to let you know that upon your march to "East Levington," and during your stay there, you have an eye on all sides to prevent any surprize or attack of the Enemy, wherein His Majesty does not doubt of your care.

I send you further inclosed his Majesty's order for reading the Articles of War, and the Officers and Soldiers taking the oath of Fidelity, which His Majesty's pleasure is, shall be done when the Troops are resting in their quarters.

W. B.

A later order directed Kirk, with his division, to march to Reading, *vid* "Devezes" and Hungerford.

An order was also sent from the King, directing the oath of fidelity prescribed in the Articles of War to be taken by every officer and soldier in the Army.†

The Duke of Grafton and Lord Churchill now deserted to the Prince; and at Andover, where the King halted for the night, the Prince of Denmark, his son-in-law, and the young Duke of Ormond, as soon as the King had retired to rest, mounted their horses and rode away to join the Prince of Orange, accompanied by the son of the Duke of Queensbury, Lord Drumlanrig.‡

There are three very interesting historical letters in the Record Office, from Lord Middleton to Lord Preston, relating to the defection of the Duke of Grafton, Lord Churchill, Kirk, and Trelawney. The first, dated 24th November, from Salisbury, gives an account of the news from Warminster that Lord Churchill's Grenadiers had gone over to the enemy, and that the Duke of Grafton and Lord Churchill were missing, and it was feared they had gone after them. Troops had been sent after them, but it was feared that the whole brigade commanded by Kirk and Trelawney had gone over. A letter, dated the following day from Andover, at ten o'clock at night, relates that Colonel Oglethorpe had arrived at Warminster and had given the King an account of the state of things. Kirk and Trelawney were

* War Office Letter Book, 1684, W.B., pp. 110-111.

† Marching Book, Vol. IV., p. 13.

‡ Scott's British Army, Vol. III., p. 581.

at their quarters, and only twenty Dragoons and ten Grenadiers had gone over. The news of the defection of the Duke of Grafton and Lord Churchill was confirmed.

As soon as the King had received Oglethorpe's report he sent a letter, at seven a.m., to Lord Preston, ordering him to seize the goods and furniture of Lord Churchill both at the Cock Pit and at his house at St. Albans. An order was at the same time sent to take into custody the clerk of Lord Churchill's troop of Horse. Lord Preston was to get the assistance of Lord Godolphin to see the commands properly carried out. In the letter of the 24th the writer says:—"It was lucky that the bleeding at the nose hindered him from going thither, when they might have seized his sacred person, 'which God preserve.' The King marches this day to Wallop, with all his troops, and so by Andover to London."*

The Duke of Berwick, in his *Memoirs*, gives an account of the escape of the King from the trap laid for him by Churchill and Kirk. He writes:—"Though I would willingly conceal Lord Churchill's faults, I cannot avoid mentioning one pretty remarkable circumstance. The King intended to go from Salisbury in my coach, to visit the quarter commanded by Major-General Kirk, but was prevented by a prodigious bleeding of the nose which seized him on a sudden; and it is said that a schiem was laid, and the measures taken, by 'Churchill' and 'Kirk' to deliver up the King to the Prince of Orange, but this accident frustrated the design."†

A skirmish took place at Reading about this time. Sir John Lanier had posted some troops there to defend a bridge over the Thames, across which the Prince's troops were to pass. The Dragoons made no stand; after firing one volley they retreated, carrying with them in their retreat a Scotch Regiment that Lanier had posted in the market place. Lord Feversham endeavoured to rally the King's troops at Maidenhead, but the Dragoons, who had been placed to defend the bridge there—on a false alarm given by the townsfolk—retreated in such haste that they left the cannon behind them. All the inhabitants were found in favour of the Prince, and aided his troops wherever they could.

The Princess Anne, as soon as she heard of her husband's flight, herself left Whitehall secretly at night, attended by Lady Churchill and Mrs. Berkely, and joined her husband. The King, on his arrival in London on the 26th, was greatly distressed at his daughter's flight, bursting into tears, and crying out, "God help me! my own children

* Domestic State Papers, Letter Book Secretary, 1688-1690, P.R.O.

† *Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick*, London 1779, Vol. I., p. 31.

have forsaken me." His only remark, when he heard of Prince George's flight, being, "So! Est il possible gone, too?" the Prince having been in the habit of saying "Est il possible" when he heard of the desertion of others who were indebted to the King for favours. Two days after the King's arrival in London he heard rumours of Kirk's apprehended disloyalty, and at once issued the following order for his arrest:—

Our Will and Pleasure is That you cause a Detachment of Twenty Horse with Two Commisson Officers to march this day to Colebrook, where they are to take into their Custody the Person of Majr General Kirk, and bring him to London, where you are to cause him to be kept in safe Custody in his own Lodgings untill further Order. Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 28th day of Novembr 1688, &c.

It is His Mat^s Pleasure that no other Restraint be Put upon Majr Gen^l Kirk than his being kept in safe Custody, and that he be Permitted to send his Baggage and Horses to his own house at Byfleet.

By, &c., W. B.

To Our Right T. and R^t W. Cousin
and Councillor William Earl of Craven,
Lieutenant Gen^l of Our Forces.*

Kirk had on some pretext refused to march to Devizes, and was rightly suspected of a leaning towards the Prince. After his arrest he was examined before the Privy Council, but, nothing being proved against him, he was discharged. Colonel Trelawney, as soon as he heard of Kirk's arrest, at once withdrew with his Lieutenant-Colonel, Churchill, and about thirty men of his regiment (the 4th), and went over to the Prince. Dumbarton was sent to bring off Kirk's brigade, which he did without trouble.

On the 4th December the invaders marched into Exeter, the headquarters of the Prince being in the Bishop's palace, lately occupied by the King. The Earl of Bath, who had been written to by the Prince on 20th November, took measures to secure the Citadel of Plymouth. On the 27th he writes to Prince William, that he had dismissed all the Popish officers and soldiers from the garrison. On Monday he called all the Protestant officers together and read the Prince's declaration to them, when they unanimously declared their readiness to concur with the Earl in serving the Prince in his "generous, great design of defending the Protestant religion, the country and its liberties, or the ancient constitutions of England." The Royal Citadel of Plymouth had, without any effusion of blood, been secured for the service of the Prince.†

* Marching Book, Vol. IV., p. 22.

† Home Office, King William's Chest (formerly Sealed Bag), 1688-1689, No. 2.

King James now began to despair. He had been urged by his Peers to call the Parliament together and to send commissioners to treat with the Prince. On the 30th November he appointed the "Marquis of Halifax," the Earl of Nottingham, and Lord Godolphin, to treat with the Prince. They met with no success, the terms proposed by William being such as would have divested the King of all authority. These terms included a payment to the Prince for the support of his Army till the meeting of a free Parliament; a condition was also inserted, that Portsmouth was to be guarded in order to prevent foreign troops from entering the kingdom. As soon as the King received the news of these fatal conditions from his commissioners he prepared for flight. He had already sent off his Queen and the Prince of Wales, and on receipt of a deceitful dispatch from Lord Halifax, informing him (it is said at the suggestion of the Prince) that there would be no security for his person in any part of England, he left Whitehall by a private passage on the 11th December, at three a.m.

Immediately the King left the Earl of Feversham assembled the forces at Uxbridge, consisting of about 4,000 men, and read a letter * to them which the King had left, thanking the officers and men for their fidelity, and informing them that he did not expect them to expose themselves in resisting a foreign army and a poisoned nature. After reading the letter to the troops Lord Feversham dismissed them on the spot. A letter was then sent to the prince, signed by "Feversham, Lanier, Fenwick, and Oglethorpe," informing him that a letter had been received from the King, with the unfortunate news of his resolution to go out of the kingdom, and that in consequence of this news it had been decided to dismiss the Army, to hinder effusion of blood by a useless resistance. This action of Feversham—stupid and resentful, no doubt—caused serious riot and confusion in London, and was long remembered. The King, however, was not successful this time in escaping from the kingdom. He was recognised by some fishermen at the coast, and, after being treated with some indignity, was afterwards induced by his Council and Peers to return to London, and was escorted there, according to one authority, by 200 of the Life Guards and Grenadiers. The excitement at Feversham had been so great that the Guards were halted at Sittingbourne. The King arrived there, escorted only by two troops of the Kent Horse Militia, under the command of Sir Basil Dixwell and Sir James Oxenden.† "Lord Feversham," with "Sir John Fenwick" and "Sir John Talbot," who were with the

* James II., Vol. II., p. 250.

† Scott's British Army, Vol. III., p. 600.

Guards, took charge of the King, and on the arrival of the party at Rochester, where they stayed one night, Feversham was dispatched with a letter to the Prince, inviting him to a personal conference in London on the affairs of the nation. Lord Feversham, however, on arriving at Windsor, was arrested by order of the Prince, and a messenger, Count Zuleistein, sent off post haste to the King, desiring him to stay at Rochester; but the King having left before the arrival of the Count, the envoy followed and delivered his message to him at St. James's.

The King, on his return to London, was received with unusual expressions of joy by the populace. He arrived about four p.m. on the 16th December.

An interesting series of letters of this period is contained in the "Dartmouth" and "Spencer" MSS., in the Historical MSS., Commission Second Report. A letter from Lady Dartmouth to her husband, dated 15th December,* gives a detailed account of the insults to the King at Feversham. "The rabble rifled his pockets and took away all from him." A copy of a letter of the unfortunate King to Lord Feversham is in the same report, taken from the "Spencer" MSS., where the King writes most pathetically that the people "still detain me here, although they know me," and asks him to send him money, as "all his has been taken."

In the meantime the Prince continued to advance, marching through Newbury and Wallingford, intending to go to Oxford, but hearing of the King's flight, he marched to Henley. Here he received a deputation of the Peers, Magistracy, and Officials of London, who informed him of the King's flight and the disbandment of the Army, at the same time begging his protection. He issued an order on the 13th December to the Colonels and Commanders-in-Chief, "to call together by beat of drum, or otherwise, the officers and soldiers who had been disbanded by Lord Feversham, and to keep them in good order and discipline." The Duke of Grafton and Lord Churchill were sent to London to take command of the Guards, and an order issued for the Irish officers and soldiers to deliver up their arms into the Tower.

The Prince then went on to Windsor, where, after receiving news of the capture of the King and of his return to London, he called a Council, and it was resolved that the King should be desired to go to Ham. The following order was sent to that loyal gentleman and soldier, Lord Craven, Colonel of the Coldstream Guards and Lieutenant-General of the King's forces :—

* Historical MSS., Commission Second Report, p. 11.

Windsor, 15th December, 1688.

My Lord,—I am very well satisfied with your Lordship's care in Preserving the Public peace, and cannot doubt of your continuance of it, in everything that may be requisite for my service. At present I think fit to acquaint you with my resolution to come to London on Tuesday next, so that it will be necessary that the forces now there be removed the day before to such quarters as are appointed them, and as I have in their stead, ordered 3,000 of my Guard of Foot to march thither, so as to be there on Monday, together with 800 of my Guards of Horse, you are to give such orders that they may be placed before my arrival in the quarters formerly taken up by the English Guards. I intend likewise to send on the same day, the English Brigade, consisting of Three thousand men to Southwark, the Tower, Tower Hamlets, and places adjacent, for the quartering of which it will be requisite that you direct the necessary preparations to be made in such manner as may be most convenient for my service, and Ease of the Inhabitants, for the better effecting whereof, I have informed the Lord Churchill more particularly of my intentions, to whom I do therefore refer you for his assistance as there shall be occasion. And so I bid you farewell,

Your most affectionate friend,
W. H. P. J. O.

To the Earl of Craven.*

This gallant veteran, now eighty years of age, would not deliver up the posts round the King's palace, declaring he would "rather be cut to pieces." When he waited on the King, the latter sent for Count de Solms, who was in charge of the Dutch troops. The King was then shown the Prince's order. After some little hesitation he ordered Lord Craven to draw off his own troops. The King had hardly retired, after this exciting incident, when he was again aroused by the arrival of the Lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, with a message from the Prince that he should retire to Ham. He, however, decided to go to Rochester, from where he concluded he could more easily escape to France. This course was allowed, and on Tuesday morning the King, escorted by Dutch Guards, left his palace and his home for ever. He arrived at Rochester on the 19th (after staying a night at Gravesend), and on the same day paid a visit to the Queen Dowager, and assured her she should enjoy her religion without molestation.†

While at Rochester several Peers came to visit him; Generals Fenwick and Talbot there threw up their commissions.

Dalrymple‡ relates that the King had been informed that there were 10,000 troops in London only waiting the word to fall on the Dutchmen, and that many officers had offered to lead them. The King, however, had lost all spirit, and refused to make another effort.

* Marching Orders, 1688, Vol. V., pp. 1-2.

† Historical MSS., Commission Twelfth Report, Part VII., p. 230.

‡ Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. II., p. 225.

On Saturday, the 22nd December, at night, he evaded his easy guards, and embarked on board a fishing boat, attended by the Duke of Berwick, Mr. Biddulph, and a Groom of the Bedchamber. After a miserable journey he reached Ambleteuse, in France, at three a.m., on Tuesday morning, the 25th. He received a courteous and kind welcome from the French king, and then joined his unfortunate Queen at St. Germain.

The same day the King left Prince William took up his residence at St. James's, and immediately issued the following order :—

BY THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

A DECLARATION FOR THE BETTER QUARTERING OF THE FORCES.

Whereas We are informed that divers Regiments, Troops and Companys are, contrary to our Intentions, quartered in private Houses, We have thought fit hereby to declare our pleasure to be, that none of the Forces, of what Nation or quality soever, shall presume to quarter in any private house, without the free and voluntary consent of the owner, and that all houses be deemed private houses, except Victualling houses and houses of Publick Entertainment, or such as sell Wine, or any other liquor by retail, In which Houses We do think fitt that all Officers and Soldiers be lodged by the Direction and Appointment of the Chief Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, or Constables of the Place, where any forces shall come, and not otherwise, And we do hereby strictly forbid all Officers and Soldiers, upon any Pretence whatever, to take up any quarters, for themselves or others, without such direction or appointment, upon pain of being cashiered or suffering such other punishment, as the offence shall deserve, Given at St. James. *

A curious order was sent on the 1st December to the Lord Mayor, by the Lords of the Interregnum, that he was not to grant any passes to officers or soldiers of the Royal Scots Regiment, lately commanded by Lieutenant-General Douglas, Colonel Bochan, and Colonel Wachop, "but to send those who applied to him for passes to Lieutenant-General Douglas, to receive his commands"; † Lieutenant-General Douglas and a large part of the regiment having remained loyal to King James, and followed the unfortunate King in his exile.

As soon as the Prince of Orange took up his post at St. James's, "all the bodies," says Burnet, "came to Welcome him"; ‡ and, though the Bishops came to pay their respects, a shade was put on their adherence by the non-appearance of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The lawyers were of opinion that the Prince should declare himself, as Henry the Seventh had done; but the Prince wisely declined to

* Marching Book, 1688, Vol. V., p. 51.

† War Office Marching Book, Vol. V., p. 7.

‡ Burnet, p. 500.

be guided by these councils, and decided to wait till the Parliament should offer him the crown.

He, therefore, called all the Peers and the Members of the three last Parliaments together, and also some prominent citizens of London, and asked their advice as to the best methods of settling the nation. It was agreed to make an address to the Prince, desiring him to take the Government of the Realm into his hands in the interim.

The Prince at once, on assuming paramount authority, issued an order that Barillon, the French Ambassador, who had been so long intriguing in England for the French king, his master, was to depart from England in twenty-four hours; and when the Ambassador asked for further time, he sent him, under an escort of Dutch Guards, to the coast. He also issued a stringent order that the people were to deliver back, on demand, all arms they had received from the disbanded troops.

The Regiment, according to a marching order dated 30th December, appears to have been quartered at Wallingford, from whence it was directed at that date to march to Wigan, Preston, and the adjacent places.

On the last day of this memorable year the Prince published a declaration, empowering all civil officers and magistrates, not being Papists, to act in their respective offices till the meeting of Convention; and after sending circular letters to the boroughs, counties, and corporations, for the election of representatives, and an invitation to the Peers to assemble, he gave an order, dated 5th January next year, for all the troops to march out of their quarters where any election was to be made, in order that no semblance of force might be seen.*

The establishment of the Regiment on the 1st November was thirteen companies, of sixty men each, or 780 men in all. The cost of the Regiment per diem was £44 4s. 8d.†

In the "War Office Warrants for Pay and Contingencies, 1688-1693," Vol. 791, there are several orders for payment to Kirk and the Regiment. On the 8th February, 1689, he is paid £138 for his three months' pay as Brigadier, from 1st October to 31st December, 1688. On the 8th April, 1689, he receives £216 8s. 3d., in repayment of disbursements made by him for the Regiment, from 25th May, 1688, to 1st January, 1689. On the 20th August, 1689, Lord Ranelagh received orders to make out debentures for several regiments, including the Queen's, from the 1st November, 1688, to 1st May, 1689. In such debentures care was to be taken not to include

* Macpherson, Vol. I., p. 553.

† Harleian MSS., 7,018, folio 4.

the pay of Roman Catholic officers for the months of November and December, 1688, except such sums as were paid to lieutenants and ensigns of Foot for their ordinary subsistence, or such other sums as were advanced to any other of the said Roman Catholic officers by direction of the late King, before the time of his abdication, or were due from the said officers for their respective quarters. The money for these debentures was paid to General Kirk, for the Regiment, on 2nd September, 1689.

In the MSS. book of the Queen's Regiment, in the Royal United Service Institution, is a memo. that in this year ten men, with a sergeant and drummer, were added to each company, and ten men also to the company of Grenadiers.*

* MSS., British Army, Royal United Service Institution, Vol. III.

CHAPTER IV.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR IN IRELAND—SIEGE OF
LONDONDERRY—CAMP AT DUNDALK.

1689.

CONTENTS.—William reorganises the Army—William and Mary crowned—Thanks of Parliament for services of the Army—Oath of Fidelity—Regiment ordered to Ormskirk and Liverpool, preparatory to embarking for Ireland—Landing of King James in Ireland—Instructions to Kirk on being ordered to take command of Expedition to Londonderry—Particulars of preparations for Expedition—Fleet, with Troops, sets sail for Londonderry—Siege of Londonderry—King James, hearing of Kirk's arrival, visits his Army—Fearful sufferings of the besieged—Conduct of the French General Rosen—Account of the losses of the besieged—Kirk makes a desperate effort to relieve the town—Ship *Dartmouth* engages the fort, while the *Mountjoy* and the *Phoenix* dash at the boom—Relief of Londonderry—Retreat of the Irish Army—The heroic Walker is received and thanked by King William and his Queen at Hampton Court—Reinforcement of Troops sent to Inniskilling by Kirk—Battle of Newtown Butler—Schomberg lands at Bangor and takes Carrickfergus—Musters his Troops—Is joined by the Inniskilling Troops—Arrives at Dundalk—Joined there by Kirk and his Brigade from Londonderry—King James arrives at Dundalk—Schomberg refuses to fight—Disposition of the English Troops in the Camp at Dundalk—Sickness and death in the two Armies encamped at Dundalk—Inniskillingers defeat the Irish at Sligo—Dundalk Camp broken up and Troops go into Winter Quarters—Lord Mountcashel escapes—Operations of Fleet—Affairs in Scotland—Killiecrankie—Taking of Belturbet—List of Troops in Ireland from Audit Office Accounts.

THE year following the sad effacement of the grand old Stuart dynasty saw the Regiment engaged in some desperate fights in the sister kingdom, where the deposed King—with the aid of his Catholic subjects, who had remained loyal to him—had resolved to make an effort to regain his lost kingdom.

The Prince of Orange saw the necessity of at once remodelling his Army, and of filling with his own friends and supporters the vacancies in the commissioned ranks caused by the removal of the Roman Catholics and by the resignation of Protestant officers who had remained loyal to King James.

On the 22nd of January the Convention that had been summoned by the Prince met. A letter from William was presented to both Houses, in which, amongst other matters of high national importance, he impressed upon them the dangerous position of the Protestants in Ireland and the necessity for speedily dispatching troops for their succour and relief. He also requested their assistance against a powerful enemy—France—who had declared war against the States. After two days' discussion, during which they voted an address of thanks to the Prince, the Convention adjourned. On reassembling, after considerable discussion and heated arguments, it was decided on the 6th of February to offer the Crown to the Prince and Princess. The arrangements for this historical event were completed by the 12th February, and on the day following the two Houses of Parliament, led by their respective Speakers, went in State to William and Mary. Amongst the provisions of the preamble which was read, with the offer of the Crown, was one that showed strongly the jealousy of the nation against standing armies under direct control of the King. It stated that "the raising and keeping of standing armies in the time of peace, except by the consent of Parliament, is against law."

The new King and Queen were proclaimed with great pomp on the 13th of February. Evelyn writes:—"I saw the new Queen and King proclaimed the very next day after her coming to Whitehall, Wednesday, the 13th February, with great acclamation and general good reception." Their Majesties were proclaimed three times; first at Whitehall Gate, secondly at Temple Gate, where they were received and admitted within the City of London by its Chief Magistrate and his little court. Upon arriving at Wood Street end in Cheapside they were proclaimed a third time; each time with joyous shouts and hearty wishes for long life and happiness.

The state of the sister kingdom was, in consequence of religious hatreds and its espousal of King James's cause, very bad. In the *Gazette* of March there is an account of the arrival of "great multitudes of distressed Protestants driven out of Ireland." The English troops in Ireland were stated to be in number, 6,240.

The House of Commons, on the 1st of February, ordered "That the thanks of this House be given to the officers, soldiers, and mariners in the Army and Fleet, for having testified their ready adherence to the Protestant religion, and been instrumental in delivering this kingdom from Popery and slavery, and also to all such who have appeared in arms for that purpose." It was ordered "That

* Evelyn's Diary, 21st February, 1689, p. 529.

the Lord Falkland, Mr. Sidney, Mr. Wharton, and Sir Robert Lawther, do communicate such thanks to the general officers of the Army and Fleet." *

The oath of fidelity which was ordered to be taken by the Army and Fleet during the interregnum was as follows:—

"AN OATH OF FIDELITY TO HIS HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

"I swear to be true to His Highness, the Prince of Orange, and to serve him honestly and faithfully in the defence of the Protestant religion, the Lawes and Liberties of England, against all his enemies, and opposers, and to observe and obey His Highness's orders, and the orders of the Generals and officers set over me, and that shall be set over me hereafter by his Highness, so help me God, and the contents of this book.

"I do promise and engage to submit unto, and observe the Articles and Ordinances of War, of any part to be observed."

The strength of the Army in Ireland on the 1st April is given in the valuable papers in King William's Chest, as under:—

Horse.—Sir John Lanier's	... 450	Foot. — Col. Kirk	... 780
Col. Villiers'	... 300	Col. Beaumont	... 780
Lord Delamere's	... 300	Col. Cunningham	... 780
Col. Coy	... 300	Col. Sir John Hammer	780
Lord Hewett	... 300	Col. Wharton	... 780
Lord Cavendish	... 300	Col. Hastings	... 780
		Col. Sir John Edgeworth	780
		Col. Richards	... 780
Total	... 1,950		
Dragoons.—Royal Regiment	... 480	Total	... 6,240
Col. Leveson's	... 360		
Total	... 840	Total—Horse, Dragoons & Foot	9,030

A note gives particulars of all the regiments in the kingdom. The total of all the Foot was twenty-six regiments:—

1 of 26 companies, 60 men in each	... 1,560
1 of 14 " 79 "	... 1,106
24 of 13 " 60 "	... 18,720
Total	... 21,386 †

News had reached William of King James's attempt in Ireland. Orders had been issued for the speedy raising of 10,000 troops for that country. Letters had also reached London from Morlaix, in France, with the information that the late King had sailed from Brest, on the 25th February, with sixteen men-of-war and seven

* Marching Book, 1688, Vol. V., p. 61.

† Home Office, King William's Chest (formerly Sealed Bag), 1689, &c., No. 5.

tenders, and that "the men on board were English, Scotch, and Irish, and but few French."*

On the 17th March letters arrived from Ireland with the news of King James having landed on the 12th at Kinsale. Energetic measures were at once taken to get troops ready. "Drums beat up mightily in and about London for volunteers for the Irish army, and they came in pretty well."† The Regiment received orders on the 20th March to march from present quarters for Ormskirk and Liverpool, preparatory to embarking for Ireland, but they did not actually depart from England till May. Measures were also taken to get rid of a dangerous contingent of Irish prisoners that, on the flight of King James in December, had been disarmed and imprisoned in the Isle of Wight. These troops were composed of Colonel Butler's Regiment of Dragoons, 300; Colonel Hamilton's Regiment of Foot, 600; Colonel McEligott's Regiment of Foot, 600.‡ Orders were given that the troops in question were to be shipped to Hamburg and sent as a present "from our King to the Emperor, to be employed against the Turks."§

The Regiment, according to the last marching order that can be found of this time, had been ordered to Preston and adjacent places. It appears that orders were issued early in the year for fifteen regiments of Horse and Foot to be marched from their present quarters to "Newcastle, Carlisle, and Berwick," to assist the troops in Scotland.|| The "Queen's" must have been one of these regiments, and this is confirmed by letters sent to Kirk on the 6th and 25th of April; the first letter giving him instructions as to the route of the forces marching to the north, and the later letter ordering him "not to continue visiting the forces between Chester and Newcastle without going to Newcastle or Berwick."¶ (No doubt orders had been sent to Kirk to delay his departure for Ireland.) Kirk seems to have been intrusted with full powers, as we find him in correspondence with the Minister, Shrewsbury, giving particulars of what he had done with reference to the arrest of Lord Forbes and Mr. Murray. Lord Shrewsbury, writing to Kirk on the 12th April, informed him that the King desired him to send these persons to the King in the custody of the messenger bringing the letter. He was also ordered, in passing through the country, to arrest any persons he suspected of ill designs against the Government, and hold them in custody till the King's pleasure was known concerning them.** Another order††

* Luttrell's Diary, Vol. I., p. 508.

† Ibid., p. 515.

‡ Marching Book, Vol. V.

§ Luttrell's Diary, Vol. I., p. 525.

|| Ibid., p. 517.

¶ Secretary Com. Letter Book, W.O., pp. 129-132.

** Dom. State Papers, Letter Book (Secretary), 1688-1690.

†† Dom. Mil. Entry Book, 1688-1693, No. 2, p. 32.

gives the first particulars of the two regiments which were to go with the "Queen's" from Liverpool to Londonderry. Kirk's and Sir John Hanmer's Regiments sailed from England on the 21st of May in company with Brigadier Stewart's (or Stuart's) Regiment (now the 9th Foot), which had been ordered to accompany them, the whole expedition being under the command of Kirk. The numbers of all ranks in the regiments, as far as can be ascertained, were—Kirk's, 660 men; Stuart's, 660; and Sir John Hanmer's, 590 men. The instructions to Kirk, sent to him on the 29th April, were as follows—(instead of the regiments of Colonels Cunningham and Richards, the Queen's Regiment and Stuart's had been substituted):—

Instructions for our Trusty and welbeloved Piercy Kirk, Esq.,
Major-General of our Forces, and in case of his death or absence
to y^e officer in chief, wth y^e Regiments hereafter mentioned.

You are to repair wth all speed to Liverpool and there to hire as many merch^{ts} ships as shall be sufficient to carry our Regiments whereof you, Col. Cunningham, St John Hanmer, Bart., and Col. Richards are Collonells, from thence to Londonderry, in case such ships be not already hired by our trusty and welbeloved Coll^l Trelawny and to furnish y^e said ships with such a quantity of meal and other provisions as may be procured without detaining y^e said Reg^{ts} from pursuing their voyage. In case our frigots y^e *Swallow*, *Jersey*, or y^e *Bonadventure*, or any others be att or near Leverpoole, you are to cause any one of them you shall think fitt, to convoy y^e said Reg^{ts} to London Derry, and to take under y^e same convoy a ship laden with cheese and other provisions now lying in y^e Port of Chester or Leverpoole.

And whereas we have thought fitt to order five thousand fire arms, four hundred barrels of powder, three thousand Bendoliers, thirty-eight thousand pounds of Lead, forty thousand pounds of match and five hundred hand grenades with other store to be laden at Topsham on board two merch^{ts} ships under y^e convoy of Capt. Thomas Hobson Commander of the *Bonadventure*, w^{ch} stores and ammunition will be probably brought to Chester or Leverpoole you are to cause y^e same to be carryed in y^e said shippes in company wth you to London Derry and to be disposed of there and afterwards brought from thence as you shall find most conducing to our service.

As soon as y^e ships shall be hired & y^e Regim^{ts} embarked att Chester or Leverpoole, you are to take them under your command & to go on board y^e said ships or convoy & to make y^e best of your way with the said Regim^{ts} to London Derry, where being arrived you are to take possession of y^e said Town, in case it be not already in y^e hands of y^e Enemy & ye same you are to defend & maintaine for our service to y^e best of your power.

Upon your arrivall and landing y^e Regim^{ts} there you are to send y^e said convoy to cruize between Ireland and Scotland where it may be probable y^e enemy may intend to transport men in boats or vessells unless you shall find any other occasion of our service absolutely necessary for y^e said convoy to be employed in, in which case and in all others y^e Captⁿ of that frigott is to follow your directions untill he shall be discharged by you. You are to receive the

summe of five thousand pounds sterling to be paid you by orders of our Right trusty & wellbeloved Counciller W^m Harbord, Esq. att Chester or Leverpoole w^{ch} you are to employ for y^e necessary subsistence of our said Reg^{ts} & for answering such uses as shall be requisite on this occasion. In case you shall find y^e said Town London Derry already in y^e hands of y^e Enemy you are then to return to Chester or Leverpoole wth our said Shippes & Regiments and to cause y^m to be quartered y^{re} & in y^e adjacent places untill further orders.

Lastly, We leave to your discretion y^e best means of defending y^e said Town & of preserving y^e said Reg^{ts} in y^r Retreat from thence in case of necessity not doubting of your courage care and fidelity in a matter of so great importance in our service. Provided always y^t you do not embarke y^e said Regiments att Leverpoole or Chester or cause you to sail from thence w^{thout} convoy of one of the frigotts above mentioned or such other as may be appointed for this service. Given &c. on 29 April [16]89.

A considerable correspondence took place with reference to this expedition to Londonderry. As early as 1st April Lord Nottingham gave instructions to the Commissioners of the Admiralty to prepare to embark at Liverpool the regiments of Kirk and Sir John Hanmer (now the 11th Regiment). A letter of the 12th, from the same Minister to Kirk, informs him of having received his letter of the 9th, and that he is not to wait for the ship bringing the officers' horses, but to send the regiments off as soon as a fair wind will allow. A later instruction in the letter orders him, as soon as the regiments are all shipped, to go on the route to Carlisle and Berwick, "whither his Majesty's forces are marching," and to give an account of what occurs in those parts for the King's service.

Letters were sent on the 25th to the Commander-in-Chief of the convoy ordered to Londonderry from Plymouth, also to Admiral Herbert and to the captains of his Majesty's frigates at Plymouth, by Lord Nottingham, giving instructions that, as it was feared that the town had fallen, if the ships had passed the Land's End they were to unload the arms and ammunition at Chester. This alarm as to the reported loss of the town would seem to have been caused by the return of the two regiments that had been already sent to Londonderry. The King was naturally highly offended with the commanding officers, and, while sending off urgent orders to stop the convoy of arms to Londonderry in case the town had fallen, he did not neglect to send off a special messenger (John Stephens) to Ireland to ascertain the exact state of affairs. He was ordered to hire a ship at Liverpool and sail for Londonderry. If the place was still in the hands of the Protestants, he was to ascertain the strength of the forces in the town, what quantity of provisions and ammunition they had and all information likely to be useful to the expedition. He was then to return as quickly as possible, and if he should meet the

Fleet on its way there, he was to communicate all the information he had gained to Major-General Kirk, or, if Kirk had not sailed, he was to seek him out and report to him, and then make his way quickly to London to report to Lord Nottingham the result of his journey.*

The Fleet sailed on Thursday, 16th May (o.s.), with a fair wind, E.N.E.; rough weather, however, soon came on, and they were several times driven back and forced to take shelter in the Isle of Man. On the 8th of June they sailed again from Ramsay, and after a stormy passage arrived at the Lough on the 13th of June.

King William seems to have been very anxious for the departure of Kirk for Londonderry. On the 13th May Lord Shrewsbury wrote to Kirk, informing him that his Majesty "had heard with no little concern that he was still on this (English) side of the water," and that it was "his Majesty's express pleasure that, without waiting for any supply of what kind soever, he should immediately sail for Londonderry." In a postscript he was informed that a considerable body of men would follow in case he arrived in time to save the town.†

Kirk, on his arrival at the Lough, could not go far up the river towards Londonderry, and lay for a fortnight within cannon shot of Kilmore, or Culmore Fort. One can well imagine the delight of the besieged when the sentinels on the church tower caught sight of the Fleet with succour and food for the famishing garrison. Kirk, however, did not think himself strong enough to make the attempt to relieve the place at once, which later on, almost in despair, he accomplished.

What a torture this delay must have been to the starving garrison; help and food only a few miles off, and the way to it blocked and barred by a relentless enemy.

The history of this gallant defence has been so often told that it is not necessary to detail the splendid heroism of the brave Walker and his devoted companions, except so far as it illustrates the part the "Queen's" took in its relief.

The men of Ulster had already shown their temper towards the adherents of James. At Inniskilling they had refused to allow his soldiers to be quartered upon them, and Londonderry had also closed its gates against the entrance of a similar force.

On the 15th of April (o.s.), before Kirk's arrival, Colonels Richards and Cunningham, who had been sent to strengthen the garrison with their two regiments, arrived at Londonderry. The Governor, Lieu-

* Domestic State Papers, Letter Book (Secretary's), 1689-1693. † Ibid, 1688-1690.

tenant-Colonel Lundi, who had given in his adhesion to the new King and Queen, persuaded them that the town could not hold out, and that it was useless to resist. This man, who has been generally branded as a traitor to the cause to which he had given in his adhesion, had been formerly one of Tyrconnell's officers, and, according to Dalrymple, "had quitted the interests of King James only with a view to serve him more effectually." *

The two English colonels had been sent out with discretionary powers, and when the Council that had been called to deliberate on the position informed them that it had been decided to deliver the town up to King James, they meekly, and without further investigation, allowed themselves to be persuaded of the inutility of resistance, and embarked their troops and returned to England.

When the leading men in the town found themselves deserted by the two regiments who had been sent to their relief, and saw that they were likely to be besieged by King James's Army, they at once took measures for defence, and, as a first move, elected Walker and Baker as joint Governors.

The number of troops given, in one account of the time, was † :—

Foot.

Colonel Walker's	Regiment	...	...	...	...	...	15 companies.
„	Baker's	„	...	...	...	...	25 „
„	Crofton's	„	...	...	...	...	12 „
„	Mitchelbourne's	„	(formerly S. Rivington's)			...	17 „
„	Lance's	„	...	...	...	...	13 „
„	Monro's	„	(formerly Whitney's)			...	13 „
„	Hamilton's	„	...	...	...	...	14 „

HORSE.

Colonel Murray's Regiment 8 troops.

Total force, 7,020 men and 341 officers; 109 companies of Foot and 8 troops of Horse, each consisting of 60 men.

Another account ‡ leaves out Colonel Baker's Regiment, and makes a slight variation in the numbers of companies in the different regiments. Walker's account as above given is no doubt more correct, as the total number of troops given agrees with other statements.

King James, who had been received with great rejoicing on his entry into Dublin, started on the 18th of April for Ulster, and, in concert with the French officers who were with him, made such dispositions of his forces that he at first obtained some successes. He then resolved to return to Dublin, to take council with the

* Dalrymple, Vol. II., p. 53.

† Derriana: a collection of Papers relating to the Siege of Derry, B.M. Walker's account, p. 11. Ditto, Mackenzie's narrative, p. 53.

‡ Life of James II., Clark, Vol. II., p. 332.

Parliament that had been called together there as to his further movements.

On his way back to Dublin he received, at Charlemont, on the 26th, an express from the Duke of Berwick, urging him to return to the troops, and giving it as his opinion, and that of all the general officers, "That in case his Majesty would return to the Army, and but show himself, it (Londonderry) would infallibly surrender."*

As soon as the King came to Derry a trumpeter was sent to summon the town to surrender.

As already stated, the Governor, Lundy, was strongly suspected of favouring King James, and he soon reported his opinion to the council of the town that it was useless to resist and that he had determined to surrender to the King.

A chorus of indignation arose. The people broke out in a fury, and, supported by Colonel Murray, in command of the Horse, attacked the Governor and his officers, shot one, and wounded another. Lundy escaped from the town in disguise. He was arrested in the West of Scotland, brought up to London, and committed to the Tower.

On the 6th May, Walker, seeing that the enemy had made a trench across Windmill Hill, from the bog to the river, and had begun a battery there, made a gallant and successful sortie out of the gate, and, engaging the enemy, drove them out of the position with great slaughter, killing 200 and wounding 500 more. He took five pairs of colours. His own losses, incredible as it may appear, consisted of only three killed and twenty wounded."† A month after, on 4th June, the Irish made a strong attack on Windmill Hill, but were repulsed, with heavy loss, particularly in officers.

On the arrival of the ships in the Lough they had found the Irish troops of King James well entrenched on both sides of the river, with batteries of twenty-four pounders in the narrowest part of it, "which is not pistol-shot over." A heavy boom had been placed across the river between two forts—Charles and Grange Forts—and great boats, laden with stones, had been sunk to hinder vessels sailing up the Lough. Culmore Fort and Castle guarded the mouth of the Loch, another fort, called New Fort, being on the other side.

Walker, in his account of the siege, describes the boom as being formed of "Fir beams, fastened at one end through the arch of a bridge, at the other by a piece of timber forced in the ground and fortified with a piece of stone-work. The timbers of the boom were

* Life of James II., Clark, Vol. II., p. 332.

† Derriana, Walker, p. 15.

fastened together by iron chains, and fortified by a cable, twelve inches thick, twisted round the timbers." *

Culmore Castle, according to a survey made by Colonel William Legge † about 1661, was a "triangular work, well designed to command the Channel." The same report describes the town as being built "upon a steep rising ground from the haven"; the ground around it being marshy. The Lough compassing three sides of the town, it would be an easy matter to surround it with water. It had then a stone wall surrounding it, in good repair.

The city, in the year of the siege, was contained wholly within the walls. "The small bastions in the walls were insufficient for the defence of the curtains from a vigorous assault, and there was no moat or counterscarp."

Dalrymple writes that the town was weak in fortifications—"only a wall eight or nine feet thick along the face of the rampart, a ditch, eight bastions, and some outworks lately thrown up." ‡

In the "Sealed Bag" papers of King William is a note, dated 7th June:—"List of such small vessels as have been ordered more than are contained in any former estimate," among which are named, "Two small frigates of ten or twelve guns, hired at Bristol, to remain under command of Major-General Kirk at Londonderry." §

Kirk, on his arrival, held a Council of War, at which it was decided that it would be too hazardous to attempt the relief of the town by the river. He therefore resolved to wait for more forces, and then endeavour to land and force his way through the Irish troops. The Fleet lay for a long time within cannon-shot of Culmore Fort, and kept the Irish in a continual state of alarm by landing troops when they wanted water in the town. In the town two guns had been placed in the church steeple—the highest part of the place—and from this commanding position great execution was done in the Irish camp. The besieged had also fortified Windmill Hill, close to the town, and had beaten back several assaults on it; in one case cutting off a whole regiment, except a lieutenant-colonel and fifteen men. ||

On the 19th Kirk sent a letter to the Duke of Hamilton, from on board the *Swallow*, in which he writes of his determination to take the first opportunity to get into Derry; as to the condition of which he has failed to obtain any information. ¶ A letter next day, from our old sea friend, Captain Rooke, sends an account of the Council

* Derriana, Walker, p. 20.

† Dartmouth MSS., 1660-1666.

‡ Dalrymple, Vol. II., p. 55.

§ Home Office, King William's Chest (formerly Sealed Bag), 1689, No. 5.

|| London Gazette, Siege of Londonderry.

¶ Historical MSS., Commission Eleventh Report., Part VI., p. 185.

of War, with an enclosure referring to the fortifications on the river. Lieutenant-Colonel Wolseley, who so greatly distinguished himself in the Irish Rebellion, and particularly at Inniskilling, took part in this Council.*

Several signs and signals were made between the ships and the garrison, but little could be made out in consequence of there having been no personal communication. At last a messenger reached the garrison, by crossing the land on the opposite side of the town and then swimming the river. He brought a full account of the relief ships, and of "the great concern of the Major-General for the garrison and his care and desire to get with his ships up to the town." Another messenger reached the town on the 21st June, and, getting safely back to the ship, Kirk sent the following in reply :—

SIR,—I have received yours by way of Inch. I writ to you Sunday last; that I would endeavour all means imaginable for your relief, and find it impossible by the river, which made me send a party to Inch, where I am going myself to see if I can beat off their camp, or divert them so that they shall not press you. I have sent officers ammunition, arms, great guns, &c., to Inniskillen, who have 3,000 Foot and 1,500 Horse and a regiment of Dragoons that has promised to come to their relief, and at the same time I will attack the enemy at Inch. I expect 6,000 men from England every minute, they have been shipped these eight days. I have stores and materials for you, and am resolved to relieve you. England and Scotland are in a good posture and all things very well settled. Be good husbands of your victuals and by God's help we shall overcome these barbarous people.

Let me hear from you as often as you can and the messenger shall have what reward he will. I have several of the enemy who have deserted to me, who all assure me they can't stay long. I hear from Inniskillen the Duke of Berwick is beaten, I pray God it be true for then nothing can hinder them joining you or me.

Your faithfull humble Servant,

KIRK.

Colonel Baker had been appointed Governor on the departure of Lundi, and in concert with his gallant coadjutor, Walker, did everything that could be done to raise the spirits of the besieged, with a strength of will and determination that was almost super-human. In the town there were about 20,000 people; the troops mustered 7,020 men, divided into eight regiments. Letters were received from Kirk on the 26th June, stating that he had resolved to force his way up the river. He writes that he "was in hopes to make some attempt to relieve Londonderry at the next spring tide."†

On the 4th July a dispatch arrived at Whitehall from Kirk, informing the King that the garrison held out still with the greatest bravery, and that a party had been sent out from Stuart's Regiment, taking arms

* Historical MSS., Commission Eleventh Report, Part VI., p. 185.

† Luttrell, Vol. I., p. 552.

with them to communicate with the Inniskilling forces. On their way they had captured 200 head of cattle belonging to the enemy.

On the 29th of July news was received from Kirk that, finding the difficulties in forcing his way up the river almost insurmountable, he had sailed on the 18th, in the ship *Swallow*, for Lough Swilly, taking the regiment of Colonel Stuart with him. Stuart had gone on first with a small advanced party, and, landing under the protection of the *Swallow's* guns, had thrown up some hasty works. The whole of his regiment was afterwards landed on the 19th, and took up a position behind these works. In the papers of S. H. Le Fleming, Esq., of Rydal Hall, is a most interesting account of this expedition to the Island of Inch, from which it appears that Colonel Stuart left Derry on the 7th, with a party of 600 men. On the 10th, Captain Richards, the Engineer, landed with an ensign and twenty men, and at once began to erect a defence work, which was soon mounted with four field pieces. By the 17th more works were erected, in spite of vigorous attempts of the Irish to dislodge them. On the 18th the Duke of Berwick, with a party of 1,500 Horse and Foot, made an attack on a detachment which had been sent to a place called Ralfermillin, but was driven off with a loss of 240 men. Kirk arrived on the 19th with more forces, and came on shore next day. After landing the troops and giving instructions he left the same day for Derry. The diary gives a full account of the doings of Colonel Stuart's party from day to day, and of their joy on receiving news of the fate of Derry. Great shouting was heard on the 29th, and signs were at once visible of the consternation of the Irish and their resolve to raise the siege of Derry. Great quantities of cattle were captured by Stuart.*

In the Treasury Papers of 1708 is an interesting paper from Lieutenant-General Echlin, accompanying a petition of Captain William Stewart, wherein it is stated that Captain William Stewart came off to the Fleet from the Island of Inch, and gave intelligence of the said island being a safe place to land the troops that were then in great want of water and other provisions. While Captain Stewart was doing this service to Kirk and his forces, the enemy, hearing he had gone off to the Fleet, sent a party and stripped Stewart's mother and sisters of all they had, and turned them out of their home. This Captain Stewart afterwards fought at Almanza, and lost there upwards of £400 in money and effects.†

About the middle of June sultry weather had set in, and disease sadly thinned the ranks of the devoted garrison at Londonderry;

* This name is sometimes spelt "Stewart."

† Calendar of Treasury Papers, Vol. CIX., No. 11.

fifteen officers were buried in one day.* As an instance of the resolution of the garrison to defend the place to the last extremity, Walker gave an order that any one who even suggested surrender should suffer death.

It is related by Walker that during the latter part of the siege his soldiers talked with the Irish of the enemy, and, from their expressions of hatred of the foreign mercenaries, it was plain that many of them would have preferred to have been on their side. They were often heard "cursing those damned fellows that walked in trunks (jack boots), that had all the preferments in the Army and took the bread out of their mouths."†

King James, finding the brilliant hopes of speedy victory which his presence was to bring about not realised, held a Council of War, and it was decided that he should return to Dublin. He left the camp on the 29th in considerable ill-humour, giving vent to it by disparaging remarks on his friends and laudation of the English troops opposed to him. He left Lieutenant-Generals Maumont and Hamilton in charge of the siege, with the Duke of Berwick and General Preisignan, Major-General Lord Galway, and Sheldon, Brigadiers of Horse, and Ramsay, Brigadier of Foot.

The Army was to march the day after the King's departure to Culmore Fort, and take it, and thus hinder any relief to the town by water.

When the King heard of Kirk's arrival he had become alarmed, and sent Marshal Rosen,‡ invested with the title of Marshal-General, with orders to force the siege at all risks. Rosen on his arrival at once issued a proclamation that, unless the place was surrendered by the 1st of July, he would send all the Protestant inhabitants of the surrounding country under the walls of the city to perish with the garrison. This dreadful threat was carried out, with the result, as might have been expected from high-spirited men, of intensifying the resistance. The miserable people lay starving for two days and two nights under the walls of the town. The threats of reprisals of the besieged on their prisoners, and a message from King James expressing his displeasure at this action, put an end to it, and the remnant of the wretched people were allowed to return to their ruined homes. Some say that 7,000 were treated in this ruthless manner, while others put it at only 5,000. The loss of life was very great.

King William, having heard of the inhuman orders of Rosen, wrote on the 11th to Kirk, by his Minister, Shrewsbury, ordering that he,

* Dalrymple, Vol. II., p. 1.

† Derriana, Walker's Tract, pp. 23-30.

‡ Rosen was born at Livonia, created Marshal of France in 1703, and died at Alsace in 1714, aged eighty-seven.

by a trumpeter, was to make formal denunciation in his Majesty's name ; that in case any similar cruelties or ill-regulated violences were acted against the Protestants he was to make reprisals, and he was not to fail to put this into execution according to the provocation given.

The Duke of Berwick, in his memoirs written by himself, gives some interesting particulars of the siege from the date of the arrival of Kirk. Berwick was with his Horse at Cavan Park, and was ordered to join Rosen at once "*tant pour être plus à portée de le renforcée que pour m'opposée aux enterprisés de Kirck.*" On his arriving at Londonderry he was informed by his new chief that Kirk had made a landing at Ramuttou (?), and Berwick was sent to oppose him with his Cavalry and Dragoons. He found, however, that Kirk had so cleverly placed his troops under cover of the guns of the frigates, which fired continually on Berwick's Dragoons, that he thought it more prudent to return to Cavan Park.*

At last Kirk, having heard that the garrison was so weak with hunger and fatigue that, unless they were relieved they would have to capitulate, and having also received a peremptory order from Schomberg to move, resolved to make a desperate attempt to throw in a convoy of provisions by the river.

Some idea may be formed of the straits the garrison were reduced to from a letter, dated 19th July, which Kirk received from them in answer to one of his dated the 16th. The letter, which is signed by the gallant Walker and Mitchelbourne, relates:—"This garrison hath lived upon cats, dogs, and horseflesh these three days, and now remains no victuals of any kind in the garrison to live on than three pound of salt hides, one pound of tallow, and one pint of meal a man, which we compute will not keep us alive any longer than Wednesday (or about five days). About 5,000 of our men are dead already for want of meat, and those that survive are so weak that they can scarce creep to the walls, where many of them die every night at their posts. We are afraid we shall lose our outworks every minute, and then we shall be all cut off." This letter goes on to state that the miners were close in their walls, and that they are offered very honourable terms for capitulation, which they had rejected in hopes of relief ; now there seems no hope of relief while their victuals last, after which "God knows what will become of us, for they vow to spare neither age nor sex." They also informed Kirk that people were surprised that such a fleet should be so near and not send victuals, and they beg of him not to trust the enemies' deserters. "The enemies' guns are brought up from Culmore, and

* Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick, written by himself, p. 345.

that boom which is across the river is broke so that a small ship might easily pass up hither without hazard." They also sent word that "the Irish Army consisted of most part rabble," the best of the troops being on their way to Dublin.*

The following account, in Walker's Diary of the Siege, of the state of the garrison will give some idea of the position. It will be seen from the account that the 7,000 odd soldiers had been reduced to 5,520, and, before the end of July, had fallen to 4,408:—

July 8,				garrison reduced to 5,520
" 13	"	"	"	5,313
" 17	"	"	"	5,114
" 22	"	"	"	4,973
" 28	"	"	"	4,892
" 29	"	"	"	4,456
" 30	"	"	"	4,408

A heavy loss—436—between the 28th and 29th had been caused by a brave and desperate sortie out of Shipgray, Bishop's and Butcher's Gates, when they surprised Sir John Fitzgerald's Regiment, killing the commander and driving the Irish out of the trenches with great slaughter.†

On the 21st of July Kirk returned to the Lough, in the *Swallow*, in company with the three ships he had taken with him to Lough Swilly. Meeting with Captain Lee, in the ship *Portland*, he was informed that Captain Rooke was cruising off Carrickfergus. He at once sent instructions to Rooke that the *Dartmouth* frigate was to assist in the enterprise.

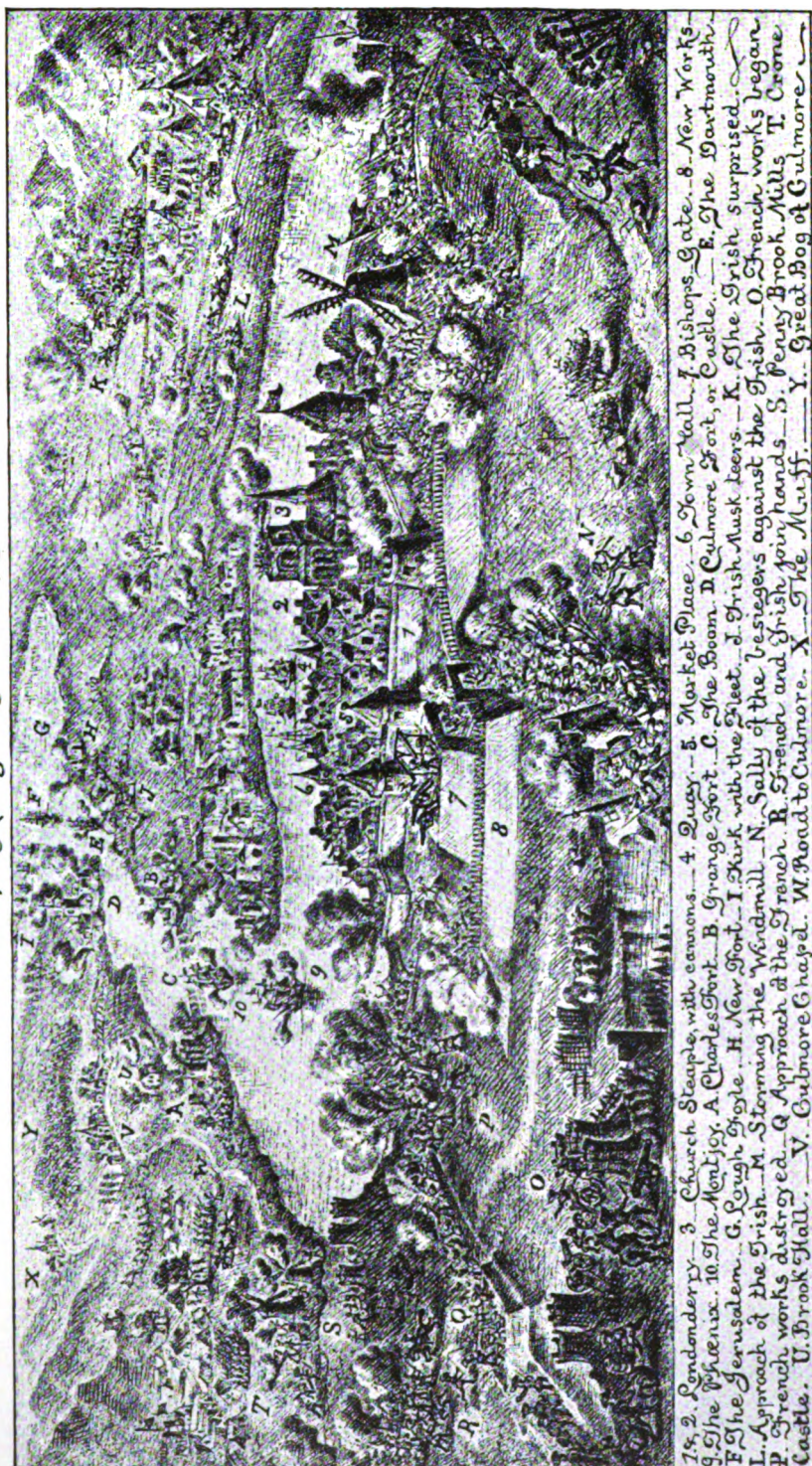
On the 22nd he ordered the three ships, *Mountjoy*, Captain Browning; *Phoenix*, Captain Repwell; and the *Jerusalem*, Captain Andrew Douglas, laden with food and stores, to anchor within safe distance of Culmore Castle, and wait for the *Dartmouth* to join them. On the 25th Captain Rooke joined the little fleet at Culmore, and all were directed to wait for the first favourable wind for sailing briskly up the Lough. The opportunity did not come till the 30th,‡ at six o'clock in the evening, when, a sharp wind from N.N.W. springing up, the *Dartmouth*, under Captain John Leake, and

* Historical MSS., containing Hamilton's Papers, MS. Report, Part VI., p. 185.

† Derriana, Walker's Tract, p. 30.

‡ In the *London Gazette*, dated from Hampton Court 4th August, this date is given as the 28th; and it is stated also that the *Dartmouth*, after lying all night in front of the castle for the tide, early in the morning of the 29th engaged the fort again, and came away with very slight loss. The date of the relief is given in other places as 30th July. Macaulay, Vol. III., p. 235, gives the date of the relief as the 30th July.

The Siege of Londonderry 1689.



Drawn and Compiled from A general Plan of Londonderry, by Capt. S. Hobson, London, 1693, 12700(2), Print Room, B.M.

A Plan of the City and Suburbs of Londonderry, Dublin, 1799, 12700(3), B.M.

A general Map of Ireland, by Sir S. W. Petty, London, 1765, 10805(36), B.M.

Ireland Ordnance Survey of the Counties of Dublin O.S. 1839—46, B.M.

The Siege of Londonderry, 1689—6—14—226—1689.

Plans of the principal Towns, Forts, and Harbours of Ireland, London, 1751, 10920(1), B.M.

Map Cat. King's Lib., 54—32, B.M.

and Author's MSS.

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the *Mountjoy*, weighed anchor and started on their almost "forlorn hope" enterprise. The *Phoenix* had been ordered by Kirk to remain at anchor until the frigate had engaged the forts of the castle, when she was to weigh anchor and follow. The *Mountjoy* was to continue her course up the river and drive straight at the boom. As soon as that was broken the frigate was to signal the *Jerusalem*, who was to follow the *Phoenix* with all speed. The long boat of the *Swallow* was sent out, well armed with seamen, with orders to cut the wood of the boom and endeavour to destroy in every way possible the obstruction to the vessels passing.

It was time; famine had done its terrible work. Gaunt spectres glared defiance from the walls of the town, their hearts broken with despair for their wives and little ones. The fearful substitutes for food—dogs' flesh, the flesh of vermin, raw hides, &c., were failing; all must die of hunger or give in.

At the hour the blessed wind was wafting the ships to their relief. It being Sunday, the warrior priest, Walker, preached in the cathedral, exhorting his hearers to persevere, and that God would at last deliver them from their difficulties. Shortly after the lookers-out descried the ships sailing to the mouth of the Lough. The news spread like wildfire; the walls, and every point where a view could be obtained, were crowded with anxious, terribly anxious, eyes, for their fate hung upon the desperate attempt which was now being made.

The *Dartmouth* soon came under the guns of the castle, reserving all her fire until she had put herself within musket-shot, when Captain Leake bravely dropped anchor and battered away with his guns, while the *Mountjoy*, under cover of his fire, passed safely the first danger. On she went; and now comes the supreme moment. She drives at the boom, rebounds back; though she has broken it, she is on shore. Never mind, she can fight; and broadside after broadside is poured forth on her assailants. She is on an errand of dreadful urgency. The *Dartmouth*, seeing her peril, at once turned her guns on to the crowd of Irish soldiers who had rushed to the boat preparing to board the *Mountjoy*, and beat them off, assisted by the desperate firing from the imperilled ship. The garrison saw with horror and dismay that the ship made a stop when she drove at the boom. The enemy could be seen gathering in swarms at the place where the ship was imperilled, and they could even hear the loud cries of exultation raised by the besiegers all along the shore. Walker writes, "Our spirits sank, our hearts were expiring."

The *Phoenix* now made a dash at the breach the *Mountjoy* had made, got through, and the tide, which was rising rapidly, having floated the *Mountjoy*, she followed the *Phoenix* through the broken boom, and

both ships sailed proudly up to the town, shot pouring in upon them from the besiegers; one shot, alas! killing the gallant Captain Browning just as his heroic deed was accomplished. Great guns from the town blazed forth the news to both the besiegers and to Kirk that the heroic little fleet had reached the devoted town, "amidst the tumultuous cries of the besieging and besieged." The wind had unfortunately slackened, and went about to the S.W., which hindered the *Jerusalem* from following when signalled. The *Dartmouth* lay in front of the castle, having to wait for the tide, but gallantly holding her own against the enemy's guns, firing five or six shots to their one.*

At eight o'clock the next morning, Leake, the Commander, coolly weighed anchor, and though hailed on with shot from shore and castle, sailed away with slight damage, with only one soldier killed and one wounded.

The garrison was found to be reduced to about 4,000 men, and at least one-fourth were unfit for service. It is said that 7,000 of the inhabitants had perished from disease, famine, and the shot of the besiegers.†

The Duke of Berwick writes in his memoirs:—"Le 28 Juillet les vaisseaux ennemis remontèrent la rivière malgré l'estacade que l'on avoit faite apres du fort de Cullmore et que fut brisée par le premier bâtiment que passa M. de Rosen voyant le secours entré dans la place, jugea à propos de lever le siège d'autant que le Roi pouvoit avoir besoin de son armée pour faire tête à M. de Schomberg qui était sur le point d'arriver en Irlande avec des forces considérables. L'armée decampa dans le commencement d'Aôut et retourna du côté de Dublin."‡

Leland, in his *History of Ireland*, writes:—"Of the 7,500 men regimented(?) in Derry, 4,300 only remained witnesses of its deliverance. Of these more than 1,000 were incapable of service." One writer, John Mackenzie, who was chaplain to one of the regiments, makes grievous complaints against Kirk, that after the raising of the siege he requisitioned the remains of these regiments for further service in the war.§

Kirk, in his letters || giving an account of the relief, concludes with a prayer for supplies. Captain Rooke, writing from off Kintyre, says

* *London Gazette*, Siege of Londonderry.

† Dalrymple, Vol. II., p. 64.

‡ Berwick's Memoirs, p. 345.

§ Derriana: a narrative of the Siege of Londonderry, by John Mackenzie, Chaplain to one of the Regiments. London, 1690.

|| Historical MSS., Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part VI., p. 186.

that on the Wednesday following the relief the Irish Army decamped, "and it is said they design for Inniskilling, but the writer thinks they will try and send part of their force to the north of Scotland and foment disorders there, which intelligence he had from an Irish officer who had been captured trying to escape."*

The heroic Walker was sent home to give an account to the King of the siege and its relief. He arrived at Hampton Court on Thursday, 15th August (O.S.), and was on the same day introduced into the presence of the King and Queen by the Lord President. "Their Majestys received him with many expressions of the gracious sense they have of his great services;" the King, amongst many marks of his royal favour, bestowing on him the sum of £5,000 sterling—not a small sum in those days.

The Earl of Shrewsbury, writing to Kirk on the 16th of August, in reply to his (Kirk's) dispatch, informs him that the King had commanded him to express his great satisfaction, and that directions were given for due considerations to be had of those who are recommended by Kirk as deserving of reward. The Minister adds that he has particular satisfaction that this service has been performed by Kirk, for whom he has so real a value.† This letter was brought by Captain Withers, of the "Queen's," who was returning to Ireland.

In the Irish papers is an order from the Duke of Schomberg that such officers as were of the siege of Londonderry were to be provided for.‡ In the same papers are some interesting accounts of moneys paid for the discharge of the Derry ships, which had been engaged at the rate of 16s. per ton per month. There are also warrants for shoes and boots, which are charged at the rate of, respectively, 3s. 6d. and 12s. per pair.

In the Treasury Papers, March, 1702, is a statement of arrears due to officers and soldiers of the Army for service done in the late reign (William III.), which arrears remained unsettled at the time of the King's death. A report to the Committee of the House of Commons states, with reference to the brave Londonderry Garrison, "That their sufferings were so great; for several persons that were in the city during the siege, to the number of 12,000, perished by sword and famine; that eight regiments were in the city, some of which were Horse, but were at last reduced to Foot—such was their extremity that they were forced to kill their horses and eat them;

* Historical MSS., Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part VI., p. 186.

† War Office, Irish Pay and Contingencies, 1689-1750, Vol. 771.

‡ State Papers, Ireland, P.R.O., 1679-1690, No. 352.

afterwards they lived upon tallow, hides, and starch, till such times as they were relieved by Major-General Kirk.*

The arrears are given as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Captain John Arnot, at 4s. 8d. per diem...	17	5	4
„ John Bickerstaff ...	17	5	4
Lieutenant Hugh Phillips...	8	12	8
„ Henry Godfrey ...	8	12	8
„ Henry Sands ...	17	5	4
Ensign W. Danby ...	6	15	8
„ Thomas Bickerstaff ...	6	15	8
Chaplain Josiah Alsop ...	12	6	8

An interesting and most valuable piece of information has been obtained from the Treasury Papers, which we have been unable to find noted elsewhere, viz., that while the Regiment was engaged in the siege of Londonderry, five new companies were raised at Inch and incorporated into the Regiment. In the accounts it is stated that the pay “for the five companies of Foot raised at the Island of Inch incorporated into the Regiment, at the same rates allowed by the establishment for the other thirteen companies of the said Regiment,” amounts to £16 2s. 6d. per diem, and is charged from the 1st June, 1689, to the last of September following, being 122 days, and giving a total of £1,967 5s. for the pay of these extra five companies. In the same papers are given the total charges of the Regiment during its campaign in Ireland from 1st May, 1689, to the last of December, 1691, “being 975 days at £44 4s. 8d. per diem (abating £1,135 16s. 6d. for several vacancies until the mustering recruits),” giving the total cost of the services of the Regiment in the campaign as £41,991 14s. 6d.

The establishment and pay of the Regiment is given in these papers as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
1 Colonel, at 12/ per diem ...	0	12	0
1 Lieutenant-Colonel, at 7/ per diem ...	0	7	0
1 Major, at 5/ „ ...	0	5	0
1 Chaplain, at 6/8 „ ...	0	6	8
1 Adjutant, at 4/ „ ...	0	4	0
1 Chirurgeon and Mate, at 6/6 per diem ...	0	6	6
1 Quartermaster, at 4/ per diem ...	0	4	0
12 Captains, at 8/ each „ ...	4	16	0
12 Lieutenants, at 4/ „ „ ...	2	8	0
12 Ensigns, at 3/ „ „ ...	1	16	0
36 Sergeants, at 1/6 „ „ ...	2	14	0

* Treasury Military Miscellany, 1702, March 8th, Bdle. 1, No. 6.

			£	s.	d.
36 Corporals, at 1/ each per diem	...	...	...	1	16 0
24 Drummers, at 1/ „ „	...	...	...	1	4 0
720 Private Soldiers, at /8 each per diem	...	...	...	24	0 0

GRANADIER COMPANY.

1 Captain, at 8/ per diem	...	...	...	0	8 0
2 Lieutenants, at 4/ each per diem	...	...	...	0	8 0
3 Sergeants, at 1/6 „ „	...	...	...	0	4 6
3 Corporals, at 1/ „ „	...	...	...	0	3 0
2 Drummers, at 1/ „ „	...	...	...	0	2 0
60 Granadiers, at /8 „ „	...	...	...	2	0 0
				<u>44</u>	<u>4 8</u>

By the same papers, Kirk, it is stated, on starting for the Londonderry campaign, received £7,000 for the expenses of the Expedition, to spend as he should think fit; but he was afterwards made to account for its expenditure.*

The succeeding papers make no further mention of these five incorporated companies.

In the Journals of the House of Commons, dated 9th June, 1698, is a petition of Colonel John Michelburne for some arrears of pay due to him. In this petition he refers to his action in the gallant defence of Londonderry, "to the last extremity," until relieved with provisions by Major-General Kirk. He also goes on to state that, "Upon Kirk coming into the town he drew out the garrison, and the said Major-General did muster Colonel Michelburne's Regiment upon view, and gave him a commission dated 3rd August, 1689, to be Governor of the city and Colonel of the said Regiment."†

The next day the Irish Army, seeing that the town being relieved there was no hopes of its capture, raised the siege and began to depart. Kirk was invited to land with his troops and occupy the camp vacated by the Irish, and the following letter was sent to him by the townspeople:—

"SIR,—Next to Divine Providence, and the care of our gracious King and Queen, this poor garrison owes their deliverance to your seasonable recruit of provisions; your ships nickt the very time, otherwise ere this, we had been forced to submit ourselves to the fury of our cruel enemies, but praised be God, they have raised the siege themselves the last night, which we think fit, by Col. Thomas Laine, Cap^t Rob^t White, Cap^t John Hamilton, Cap^t Jeyney, and Mr. John Knox, who have been besieged along with us, to give you an account

* Treasury Records, Ireland, Misc., 1692-1697, No. 5.

† Journals of the House of Commons, 1697-1699, Vol. XII.

of rendering you infinite thanks for your care of this garrison, and desiring earnestly to see you and receive your commands.

"We are, your humble and most obedient Servants,

"(Signed) GEORGE WALKER,
JOHN MICHELBURNE,
RICHARD CROFTON,
HUGH HAMIL,
HENRY MUNRO."

King William sent, on the 16th of August, a long and grateful letter to the defenders of the town, thanking them warmly for the constancy and bravery they had exhibited under most extraordinary difficulties and privations. He promised to make fitting recompense to the Commander-in-Chief of garrison, and to others who had "signalised their loyalty, courage, and patience in this time of trial, that all his subjects, being encouraged by this example, may be stirred up to the imitation of it in the like hazardous but honourable enterprises. He asks the Commander-in-Chief to assure the officers, soldiers, and inhabitants of the city, that he will take fitting occasion to recompense their services and sufferings in his cause."* It is not on record that he did all he might have done for them. The impression of the gallant defence soon faded from his memory in the later scenes in Ireland, in which he took a personal and important part.

A timely succour of arms and ammunition was sent to the Inniskillings by Kirk, on the 29th July, enabling the forces there, under the command of Colonels Wolseley and Berry, to successfully meet and defeat a large force that had been sent to help Lord Galway, who was before the town. The Inniskilling troops, reinforced with some of the "Queen's" Regiment, hearing of the advance of Lord Mountcashel, did not wait for him to appear before the town, but went to meet him, which they were the more anxious to do at once, as they heard that he had met with a reverse at Crom Castle. Colonel Wolseley, commanding the Inniskillings, came up with the Irish at Newtown Butler, and though Mountcashel had resolved to make his stand at Belturbet, the Inniskillings made so furious an attack upon him that he was quickly routed, and their leader, fighting gallantly at the head of a few gallant officers and gentlemen volunteers, fell, covered with wounds, his devoted escort being cut off to a man.†

* State Papers, Domestic, Ireland, 1748-1760, No. 418 ; also, State Papers, Ireland, 1679-1690, Vol. 352.

† Lord Mountcashel, or General Justin Macartney, as he is sometimes called, did not die in the field, but was carried a prisoner into the Protestant camp.

It is stated * that the forces under Colonel Wolseley in this fight were only 1,200 Foot and 800 Horse, and the Irish, 7,000; that they killed and drove into the Lough 3,000, and took sixty officers prisoners, with most of the arms and baggage. The loss of the Inniskilling party was only about twenty killed and fifty wounded. Another statement, in giving the figures of the Irish losses, mentions that it had been confirmed by even the Irish themselves.†

Colonel Wolseley, as soon as the fight was over, sent an express by Mr. Hamilton to Kirk, in which he stated his intention to follow up his victory by an attempt to stop the Duke of Berwick, who was reported to be advancing. Kirk, in reply to Wolseley, tells him he must be content with the victory he has won, and not push too far, particularly as he thinks it prudent not to fatigue the horses too much, "which is the best flower in our garden." Kirk, it would seem, had some thoughts at this time of attempting to take Coleraine, as he orders Wolseley to send towards that place a detachment of 500 Horse, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Berry, in order "that we may try what is in that country." The large number of prisoners taken by Colonel Wolseley seems to have been rather a burden on his forces. Kirk, therefore, directs him to send 200 of the "lustiest of them," and he will employ them; but they were to be sent to him under a sufficient guard of Dragoons, who could afterwards join the Horse under Colonel Berry.‡ The King having resolved to endeavour to push the war in Ireland to an end, Duke Schomberg, whom he had decided to send in command, landed with his troops at Bangor (having left Highlake at four a.m. on the 12th August), at the mouth of the Lough, or Bay of Carrickfergus. He had with him thirteen regiments of Foot and two trains of Artillery; the Fleet was convoyed by six men-of-war. Letters § from Ireland about this time state that the Irish were in great consternation at the arrival of Schomberg, and that King James had published a proclamation, requiring all men from sixteen to sixty to repair to his standard.

While at Chester and Highlake, making his preparations, Schomberg wrote several times to King William. In his first letter, dated 26th July, he hopes that Kirk has followed his orders, and that it would be a very good thing if they could only have two of his war vessels. Their commanders would be able to give them the best of advice. On the 27th he writes that he hopes to be able to start next

* Luttrell, Vol. I., p. 570. † Storey's Wars in Ireland, p. 6.

‡ State Papers, Domestic, Ireland, 1748-1760, No. 418.

§ Luttrell, Vol. I., p. 573.

day with a little vessel of sixty tons, to the Isle of Man, to learn something of the whereabouts of the war vessels that Kirk ought to send to them. On the 28th he got two merchant vessels which, he writes, he intends to arm, and which, with the *Atalogue*, would form the escort of Count Solms. He had learnt that some French vessels were on the look out for him, so that it would be necessary for him to have more than one war vessel for escort. Three days before he left for Ireland he wrote to the King that he had that day sent off a vessel to Kirk at Londonderry.

On the 17th Schomberg arrived at Belfast, and on the 20th he sent four regiments and some Horse to invest Carrickfergus, himself following the next day with the remainder of his forces. The siege was aided by eight men-of-war, and as the town was only held by two regiments, under Macarty Moore, it capitulated on the 27th August. Over 1,000 bombs were thrown into the town, and it was laid in ashes. The brave defenders spent their last barrel of gunpowder before capitulating. The loss in killed and wounded on both sides was about 150. Schomberg was accompanied by Count Solms, and had with him about twelve English, French, and Dutch regiments of Foot.

The first article of the capitulation of Carrickfergus stipulated "That the Garrison should march out with flying Colours, Armes, and lighted matches and their own baggage by ten o'clock." *

While before Carrickfergus Schomberg wrote several times to the King. In one of his letters he advises a descent upon Cork, and for this enterprise he proposed to send either Douglass or Kirk in command.

On the morning of the capitulation he sent a long letter to the King, informing him of the arrangements he had made. Sir Henry "Inglesby," with his regiment, was left to garrison the place. Our old Tangiers friend, Sir Henry Sheres, who was in charge of the Artillery, seems to have displeased him in the conduct of this arm.

On the 28th and 29th of August Schomberg marched back to Belfast, where he was joined by four regiments sent from England.

On the 31st he had a general muster of his forces:—

HORSE.

Earl of Devonshire's Regiment of Horse		
Lord Delamere's	"	"
Colonel Coy's	"	"
Duke Schomberg's	"	"
Colonel Leveson's	"	Dragoons
Total of Horse, five Regiments.		

* Storey's Wars, p. 7.

	Foot.	
Princess Anne's	Regiment of Foot.	
Duke of Norfolk's	"	"
Earl of Meath's	"	"
Earl of Drogheda's	"	"
Earl of Kingston's	"	"
Lord Lisburn's	"	"
Lord Roscommon's	"	"
Lord Lovelace's	"	"
Sir Edward Deering's	"	"
Sir Thomas Gower's	"	"
Colonel Wharton's	"	"
Colonel Herbert's	"	"
Colonel Earl's	"	"
La Melonière's	"	} The three French Huguenot Regiments.
Du Cambon's	"	
La Callimot's	"	
One Battalion of the Blue Dutch Regiment.		
One Battalion Colonel Carlesan's White Dutch Regiment.		

Total, eighteen Regiments.

A day or two after the muster they were joined by most of the Inniskilling Horse, who remained with them during the whole campaign.*

On the 7th September Schomberg arrived at Dundalk, and the day after was joined there by Kirk's brigade, composed of the "Queen's," Sir John Hanmer's, and Brigadier Stuart's Regiments.

The Army took up its encampment at Dundalk in wretched plight, having been harassed with wet weather, being also short of train horses (many of them being still at Chester). There was also a great scarcity of provisions.

On Monday, the 16th, news having arrived that the Irish, with a considerable Army, were on their way to attack them, 600 men were ordered to work in the intrenchments that the Commander-in-Chief had resolved to throw up to protect his Army.

The "Queen's" was, on the 17th, ordered to the trenches, at the west-end of the town. Detailed and stringent orders were issued by the Duke as to the conduct in camp and the guards. One brigade of Foot was to furnish the guards for the day. There were four brigades of Foot altogether. Guards were appointed for all general officers. Major-General Kirk's was an ensign, sergeant, and twenty men. The Duke seems to have had a difficulty in moulding his Army into a homogeneous fighting unit. From a perusal of the papers in King William's Chest there appears to have been great jealousy

* Storey's Wars, p. 8.

amongst the officers of the different nationalities. It was found necessary to bring up one lieutenant-colonel for examination before himself, Count Solms, Douglass, Kirk, and "Belis" (Bellis or Bellassis). This officer he cashiered "*étant un des malins qui ne cherche qu'à brouiller les Anglais avec les étrangers.*" Schomberg's difficulties in this respect, as well as that of supply and the sickness of his troops, no doubt decided him not to risk a fight. On the 3rd October he wrote to the King that, having thought well over the letter he had received from him, dated 23rd September, he had thought it necessary to summon Messrs. Douglass, Schomberg (his son), Herbert, and Kirk, to have their advice on the situation. Count Solms was too ill to attend.

On Saturday, the 21st, "a clear sunshine day," the camp was alarmed by a great demonstration from the Irish, King James being with them that day. The Duke quietly made his preparations for resistance, and, though urged by his chief officers, refused to fight. Once during the day, when he saw them deploy their forces into two lines, he sent for Lieutenant-General Douglass and ordered him to tell the Foot to stand to their arms. As soon as the Horse heard a signal of three guns they were to come into camp. At last, at two p.m., the enemy, finding they could not induce the English to come out of their lines to fight, and not daring to force the intrenchments, withdrew.

Schomberg had selected a place which, with little work, well secured him from attack. The front and the left flank were protected by the river and estuary on which Dundalk stands. His right flank he strongly intrenched; in his right rear were almost impassable bogs, with high ground behind; the road from Dundalk to Newry lay directly through the camp. The battalion of Guards, Carlesan's Regiment, the Inniskilling forces, with some Artillery, Schomberg had posted in the town to secure it from attack; but the main bodies of his troops were in camp.

The Irish Army had begun to be alarmed at the progress Schomberg seemed to be making, and at the moral results sure to ensue from the raising of the siege of Londonderry, which had freed the troops employed there. Considerable uneasiness also was felt by the Irish as to their communications with Dublin, which appeared to be threatened by the Inniskillings getting between King James's Army and Athlone; in which case Schomberg could have advanced direct upon Dublin, "so if y^e King attempted to go towards Drogheda they would have him betwext them."* The general idea of King James

* Clark's Life of James II., Vol. II., p. 373. Part of this extract is underlined by the pen of James II.



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This historical map illustrates the strategic positions during the Siege of Fort Mifflin. The central feature is the river, with Fort Mifflin situated on its banks. Key locations labeled include Newagen Bridge, Carlisle Road, and Arden Road. Various military units are indicated by letters and numbers, corresponding to the legend on the right. A scale bar at the bottom indicates distances in fathoms (0 to 600). A compass rose is located at the bottom center.

Legend:

- a. Dundalk
- b. Bridge
- c. Great Camp
- d. Artillery
- e. Battalions of Guards
- f. Carleton's Regiment
- g. English Dragons
- h. Infantry Foot
- i. Retrenchments
- m. Batteries

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and his advisers was to retreat to Athlone, and to defend the Shannon while waiting there for more troops from France. They had actually begun their retreat, and only changed their route on learning that Schomberg had, for some reason (which they rightly judged was want of supplies and men), halted at Dundalk.

On Friday, the 27th September, Colonel Lloyd, with 1,000 Inniskillingers, defeated a body of Irish, estimated at 5,000, that were going towards Sligo; killed 700 of them; took their Commander, O'Kelly, and forty officers prisoners, and carried off about 8,000 head of cattle. Lloyd's loss was only fourteen men killed and wounded. On their return to camp the Duke ordered all the Inniskilling troops out, rode down their lines with his hat off, and ordered complimentary firing along the line in honour of the exploit.

The correspondence in Domestic State Papers, Ireland, of September, relate interesting particulars of the camp and affairs at Dundalk. Lord Lisburn, writing on the 25th September to a friend, gives a full account of what was taking place there. He writes that they were strongly encamped, and the late King, with his whole Army, was encamped about two miles from them, on the road to Dublin, near Ardee. "The enemy braved us," he writes, "on Saturday last," and "we only gazed upon them till they ret^d to their camp." He writes very indignantly about the challenge to fight not having been accepted by Schomberg; but goes on to say, "Our generals have designs that are incomprehensible to other inferior officers; fighting being a soldier's reasonable ambition, ours were not well pleased to lose the opportunity." He gives a melancholy account of the state of the camp. In his regiment alone he had 195 sick. Some of the men in the French regiment had been discovered plotting to help King James, and had been broken on the wheel. Several hundreds of them had been sent to England. "We are pleased no such crime can be imputed to our English reg^{ts}." Mr. Harbord writes in the same month (on the 18th) that he thinks the English and French soldiers have done great harm by seizing the country people's horses, which he considers a breach of faith and calculated to harm the King's cause. He seems to have had a poor opinion of the officers generally, for he quaintly writes, "On my soul, the Lions in office are not more barbarous than some of our officers are to their sick men, whose bravery and steadiness is so remarkable that, even reduced to all the last extremities of want, they pray for the King, bemoaning their want of health, but complain of their officers." *

* Domestic State Papers, Ireland, 1685-1691.

On the 20th October, Captain Withers, of the "Queen's," was made Adjutant-General of the Foot, a compliment to the energetic services of the Regiment and its able commander. The Irish Army, on arriving at Dundalk, took up a commanding position on the heights overlooking Schomberg's camp, and then tried all arts to force a battle on him, but he would not be drawn out. At last, after many attempts, the Irish were obliged to sit down in camp themselves and watch their adversary.

In Captain Robert Parker's *Memoirs*,* he writes that the Duke's critics did not know what the Duke had to contend with; and he also writes:—"To have given the enemy battle before he had been joined by Kirk's two Regiments and the Inniskillingers must in all probability have been of fatal consequence, as the enemy were treble our number and were also posted to advantage." Kirk's Regiment and the Inniskillingers joined Schomberg soon after he encamped at Dundalk. Both armies suffered dreadfully from disease and fever. Schomberg sent dispatch after dispatch for more troops. By degrees some regiments came in, but only enough to fill up the gaps made by sickness. At last, in November, as if by mutual consent, both camps were struck (Schomberg left on the 8th and 10th), and the wretched troops prepared to march into winter quarters.

The Irish, being in command of the roads, were able to send their sick away first; their retreat was not such a gruesome sight as the march of the English. On the second day's march hundreds fell down, unable to crawl along. It is also stated that, out of the 15,000 that at various times entered the camp, no less than 8,000 died.†

Schomberg was blamed both by his troops and his partisans in England for his inaction at Dundalk; but there can be no doubt that he acted as a wise and prudent general. The Irish Army greatly outnumbered his; he was without proper supplies; and his Army, hastily got together, were, as Burnet truly writes,‡ raw troops, without experience and without skill. In Dalrymple's *Memoirs* are copies of some letters of Schomberg, clearly showing the state of incompleteness he was in. These memoirs give full justification for his inaction. At Carrickfergus, on the 27th August, he had complained of bad organization and of bad arms. At Dundalk, on the 27th September, he complained bitterly of the want of clothes and shoes; and on the 3rd of October he writes "that he could not march to the enemy, as he has not a single cart to carry provisions!" On the

* Captain Robert Parker's *Memoirs* of the most remarkable Military Transactions, from the year 1683 to 1718. Published by W. Frederick, Bath, 1747.

† Dalrymple, Vol. II., page 140.

‡ Burnet's *Own Times*, p. 536.

12th of the same month he writes, no doubt with reference to urgent remonstrances from home, that he could not risk an attack, as in case of defeat the Army would be lost without resource. In the same note he urges a diversion in their favour by the English and Dutch Fleets.*

Harbord, writing to the King on the 23rd October (o.s.), pressing him for supplies of money and clothing, strongly urges the King to send a thousand pounds to each of the regiments—Kirk's, Stewart's, and Hanmer's—that were engaged at Londonderry.

An interesting and valuable paper is found amongst King William's Papers, giving the names and numbers of all regiments placed in brigades at Dundalk, entitled "Liste de l'Infanterie passe en Revue a Camp de Dundalk le 14 d'Octobre, 1689." In this list the Queen's is placed in the 1st brigade. The following is a copy of the document relating to the Queen's:—

CAMP DE DUNDALK, LE 14 D'OCTOBRE.† ONE BRIGADE.

KERCK (KIRK).	SOLDATS.						
	Lieuts.	Anseig.	Sargant.	Tambour	Au fide Rangs.	Malades.	Morts.
1. Grenadier. Captain Weiders (? Withers)	1	0	2.10	1.10	43	20	2
2. Colonel	1	malade	3	2	36	8	4
3. Lieut.-Col. Rowe	1	1	2.10	.20	29	11	3
4. Major Billinge ...	1	1	3	2	33	20	10
5. Collier	1	1	3	2	25	28	2
6. Westcombe... ..	1	malade	3	2	33	10	2
7. Thomas	1	1	3	2	32	18	2
S. 8. Webster	1	1	2.15	1.10	24	25	0
A. 9. Ferborn (Stafford Fairborne, son of Sir Palmes Fairborne)	malade	1	3	.20	26	3	2
10. Diffe	1	1	3	2	28	6	0
S. 11. Kerc	malade	malade	3	.25	21	11	2
12. James	1	malade	3	1.10	28	11	0
A. 13. Leack	1	1	3	2	36	8	5
Summa	11.25‡	8.40‡	36.35‡	17.95‡	394	189	34

Ce Regimen a des bons hommes mes est for mal vestus. Ils ont encor beaucoup des malades sur l'isle d'Inch est a Colrain on ausis beaucoup de leurs gens son morts, quorce qui est morque (mort) isis et seulement depuis qu'ils se an marche pour nous joindre d'isis. Le Lieut.-Col. Major et quelques Capitaines samblent d'estre ases bon officiers, mes les subalterns ne sont plus des messieurs.

* Dalrymple, Appendix, Part II., Book IV.

† Home Office, King William's Chest (formerly Sealed Bag), 1689, October ; 1690, September ; No. 5.

‡ These fractions no doubt refer to duties with other companies.—[Ed. J. D.]

et beaucoup de jeunes gens. Deux Capitaines ce trouvent rarement aupres le Regiment estant des Capitaines des Vessaux. Le Regiment ce plaint de mechant-paiement et qu'ils ont a retardre 20 semaines de gage.

The other regiments composing the 1st Brigade were "Bemont" (?), Bellis (Bellassis), Lisburn, Deering. Four brigades are noted.

The two captains of the Navy referred to are no doubt Captains Fairborne and Leake. It is a proud distinction for the Queen's to have had on the roll of its officers two such distinguished officers of the Navy as Sir Stafford Fairborne and Sir John Leake. It is probable Kirk gave the company to Leake after his gallant conduct at the relief of Londonderry.* It is a sad record of the state of suffering in the camp at Dundalk—34 dead and 189 sick out of a total strength of 617 men. In another return, dated about a month earlier, the numbers sick were 287, and those fit for duty 437; total 724. From this it appears as if the Regiment had lost altogether by death 104 men.

A curious confirmation of the earnest desire of King James to force on a battle is given in a letter of his to Lord Waldegrave.† He writes:—"On the 6th of September we came up with them within three miles of Dundalk, where Schomberg lies encamped, since which time we have often offered him occasions of battle. We have omitted nothing that might provoke him to it, by excursions of parties to his out-guards, by foraging near his camp, and consuming with fire what we could not transport. Yet he continues within his trenches without accepting a battle, or even a fair skirmish, although his parties have been often much superior in number to ours."

The breaking up of the camp was a dreadful sight, but the greatest solicitude for the suffering of the troops was shown by Schomberg. By the 4th of November all the sick were put on board the ships in the Lough. On that day orders were given that an ensign and ten men should be sent on board every ship that had any sick, to take care of them. On the 5th it was confirmed that the enemy had gone into winter quarters, and on the 6th orders were given for the whole of the troops to march away.

Stuart's, Herbert's, Groves's, and Lord Lovelace's Regiments were ordered towards Newry; Hanmer's, Deering's, Drogheda's, Beaumont's, Wharton's, Bellassis's, and Roscommon's towards Armagh; Kirk's Regiment and the Dutch were to march by Newry to Antrim. The ships with the sick were to sail to Belfast.

Storey, who was with the troops at Dundalk, and who is evidently

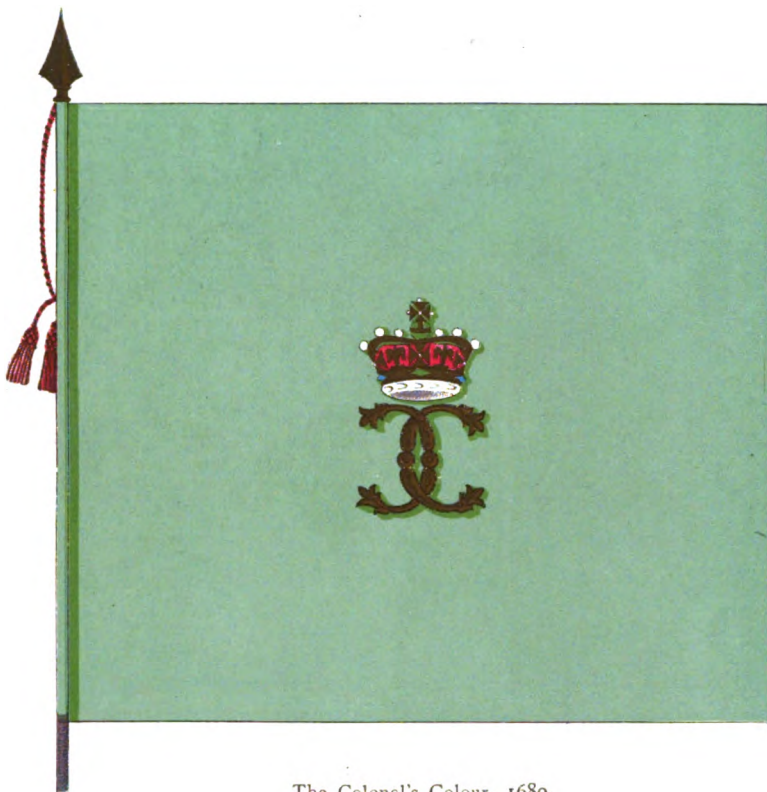
* It is necessary to note that there appears to have been another officer, Webster, who was also engaged in the sister service.

† Macpherson's Original Papers, Vol. I., p. 314.

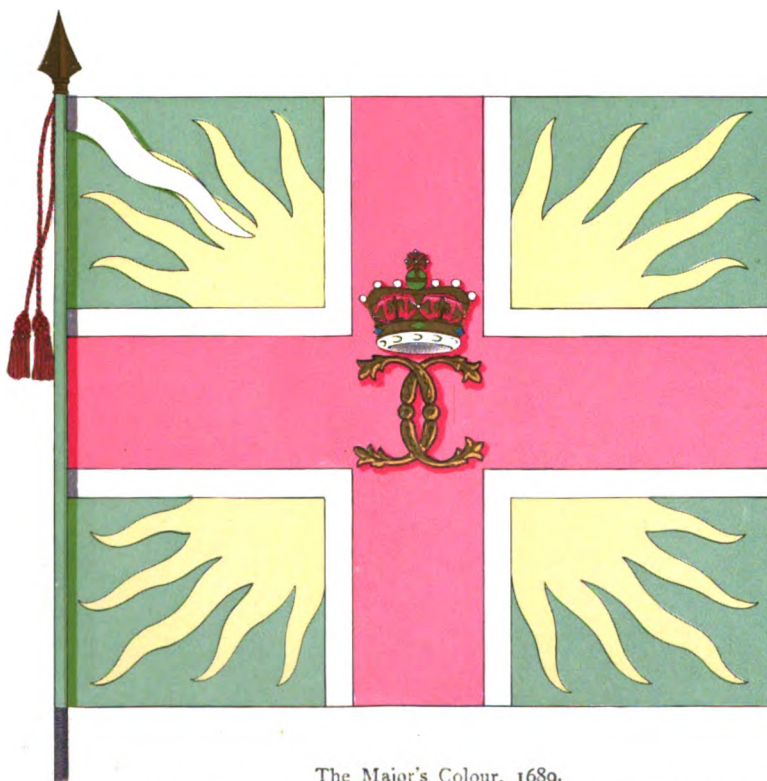


The Major's Colour, 1689.

(From the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. III, pp. 372-373.)



The Colonel's Colour, 1689.



The Major's Colour, 1689.

(For description of the above Colours, see Vol. III., pp. 372—373.)

a great admirer of the Duke, insists that Schomberg was quite right in the whole of his action, and that with an enemy four times the number of the English Army, and that Army badly supplied with material, with raw troops, and insufficient officers, it was courting a most disastrous defeat to risk a battle. The loss by sickness was quite an accident of the dreadful weather that, by bad fortune, had intervened.

On the 4th November the Earl of Shrewsbury wrote to Kirk,* acknowledging a letter he had received, dated 24th October, in which Kirk proposed to release General Justin Macartney in exchange for Lord Mountjoy. This does not appear to have been carried out, as towards the latter end of the year Macartney made his escape from Inniskilling. The Governor of the town, having been tried by Court Martial for neglect of duty, pleaded that Kirk had desired that some more conveniences might be allowed the prisoner. This indulgence, which was given with the Duke's consent, allowed Mountcashel opportunity to escape.†

On the 26th December General Schomberg made an examination into the state of his Cavalry after they had retired into their winter quarters, the headquarters of the General and his staff being at Lisburne. The inspection was made in the presence of Messrs. Scravenmore, Lanier, and Kirk. The Duke complained that the troops took no care of their horses. In the same letter Kirk is blamed for not having brought with him his discharges for the payments of the regiments which he had with him. Schomberg also complained of being left without money by Mr. Harbord, and in his last letter from Lisburne he writes:—"The pikes cannot be trusted, as they are very old, and have become rusted during the rains of last campaign, and that the Inniskilling troops cannot use theirs at all, nor the muskets."

The combined Fleets of England and Holland, under the command of our old Tangier friend, Admiral Herbert, now Earl of Torrington, had tried to make a diversion in favour of the forces engaged in the North by an attack upon Cork, but, losing many of his seamen from disease, said to be from bad provisions,‡ he failed in the attempt,

* State Papers, Ireland, 1679-1690, Vol. 352.

† Storey's Wars, p. 11. There is a letter in State Papers, Ireland, 1679-1690, M. 352, P.R.O., from Lord Shrewsbury to Kirk, in reply to one of Kirk's, enclosing a letter from Macartney. The Minister writes that, though he heartily wishes him his liberty, and "joined in the expedient of exchanging him for Lord Mountjoy," yet he cannot send an immediate answer.

‡ Smattel's History of England, Vol. I., p. 64.

and the good ship *Dartmouth*, of Londonderry fame, fell into the hands of the French.

The English had not been more successful in Scotland, where, at Killiecrankie, Dundee had hurled back, with his Highlanders, the troops of General Mackay, and driven them through the pass, with great slaughter. Had not the gallant Dundee fallen at the moment of victory, this great reverse in Scotland might have materially altered the fortunes of the late King, as William would have required a considerable augmentation of his forces in Scotland, which would have certainly considerably crippled him in the campaign in Ireland. Affairs were not promising, but the new King never lost his cool and calm courage.

On the 12th December Colonel Wolseley went with a detachment of Inniskilling troops to Belturbet, which he took, and from whence, next year, he was able to issue out and inflict a disastrous defeat on the Irish troops at Cavan.

In the Audit Office Declared Accounts of the "Right Honourable William Harbord, Esq., late Paymaster-General of his Majesty's Forces for reducing of Ireland," the following list of troops is given, which is most interesting and valuable, not only because of the complete list of names and regiments, but because we are able to recognise many of our old officers in the Tangiers forces in independent command of regiments.

The account * is dated from 22nd August to 31st December, 1689, and is as follows :—

For a Regiment of Horse under the command of Sir John Lanier.

"	"	"	"	Colonel Villiers.
"	"	"	"	Lord Delamere (afterwards Earl of Warrington).
"	"	"	"	Colonel Coy.
"	"	"	"	Lord Hewett.
"	"	"	"	Lord Cavendish.
"	Dragoons	"	"	Lord Cornbury.
"	"	"	"	Colonel Leveson.
"	Foot	"	"	Colonel Kirke.
"	"	"	"	Colonel Beaumont.
"	"	"	"	Colonel Cunningham.
"	"	"	"	Colonel Wharton.
"	"	"	"	Sir John Hanmer.
"	"	"	"	Colonel Hastings.
"	"	"	"	Colonel Richards.
"	"	"	"	Sir John Edgworth.

* Audit Office Declared Account, Bundle 313, Roll 1,246.

To the Colonels of three French Regiments of Foot, &c.
 To the Duke of Schomberg, as General of the Forces, &c., &c.
 To the Right Honourable Count Solms, as General of the Foot, &c.
 To Lieutenant-General Douglass, &c.
 To Major-General Kirke, &c.
 To Sir Henry Belasy's, as Brigadier, &c.
 To Colonel Isaac La Melonière, as Brigadier, &c.
 To Mons. La Saigne, as one of the Majors of Brigade, &c.
 To Major Billing, as Major of Brigade, &c.
 To Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart (or Stuart), as Major of Brigade, &c.
 To William Henry Fielding, as Major of Brigade, &c.
 To Mons. du Cambon, as Quartermaster-General, &c.
 To Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Russell, as Adjutant-General of the Horse, &c.
 To Abraham Yarnier, Commissary-General of the Musters.
 To Robert Pooley, one of the Deputy-Commissioners of Musters, &c.
 To John Shales, Commissary-General of Provisions, &c.*
 To Sir John Topham, Knt., as Judge Advocate, &c.
 To Mons. Germain, Secretary to the Lord General, &c.
 To Wm. Robinson, Esq., one of the Comptrollers General of Provisions, &c.
 To his Grace Frederick, Duke of Schomberg, for pay of a French Regiment of Horse under his Grace's command, &c. (consisting of eight troops).
 To the Honourable William Harbord, for pay of an independent Troop of Horse, consisting of a captain, a lieutenant, a cornet, a quartermaster, three corporals, two trumpeters, and fifty private soldiers.
 To his Grace the Duke of Norfolk, for pay of officers and men serving in a Regiment of Foot under his Grace's command.
 To his Grace Charles, Duke of Bolton, for pay of a Regiment of Foot, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Norton, &c., &c.†
 To his Grace the said Duke of Bolton, for pay for a Regiment of Foot, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Holt, &c., &c.†

For Regiments of Foot under the commands of—

The Right Honourable the Earl of Kingston.
" " the Earl of Roscommon.
" " the Earl of Drogheda.
" " John, Lord Lovelace.
" " the Lord Viscount Castleton.
" " the Lord Viscount Lisburne.†
" " Colonel Charles Herbert.
" " Sir Edward Deering, Bart.
" " Sir Henry Ingoldsby.
" " Sir Thomas Groves.
" " Colonel Thomas Erle.
" " Colonel Henry Wharton.

* Shales was greatly blamed for the disgraceful state of provisioning the Army, and for some time went in danger of being severely punished by the House of Commons.

† These regiments, though intended for Ireland, were not sent there, as we find by Audit Accounts, Bundle 314, Roll 1,248.

The Right Honourable Colonel John Beaumont.

"	"	Sir George St. George.*	
"	"	the Earl of Meath.	
"	"	Colonel Frederick Hastings.	
"	"	Colonel Isaac la Melouière.	} The three French Regiments. †
"	"	Colonel Du Cambon.	
"	"	Colonel De la Callimot.	

To Captain John Pitts, for the pay of a Company of Miners under his command, &c., &c.

To Mons. Buisier, Chirurgeon-General of the Hospital, &c.

To Dr. Thomas Lawrence, Physician-General to the Army, &c.

To the Rev. Wm. Henry Scardvell, Chaplain to the Lord General.

PAYMENTS ON RESPITES TAKEN OFF.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Pearse, for the pay of several officers of the Regiment of Foot, late under the command of the Duke of Norfolk.

To Mr. Samuel Bryan, Lieutenant to Captain Warner's Company, in the Earl of Roscommon's Regiment of Foot.

To Captain H. Saviour, Captain of a Company of Grenadiers belonging to Colonel La Melouière's Regiment of Foot.

To Major Gilby, Major of a Regiment of Foot under the command of Lord Lovelace.

PAYMENTS TO SEVERAL REFORMED OFFICERS DISBANDED IN IRELAND.

To several French officers incorporated into his Majesty's French Regiment of Horse, &c.

To several reformed officers incorporated into the three French Regiments of Foot, &c.

To Colonel La Melouière, Colonel Du Cambon, and Colonel Callimote.

To several reformed officers who came out of Holland and served in Ireland, &c., &c.

PAYMENTS OF THE INNISKILLING AND DERRY FORCES.

To Colonel Berry, for use of Inniskilling Horse.

To Colonel Wolesley, for himself and twenty-five Troops of Horse under his command.

To Colonel James Wynne, for himself and a Regiment of Dragoons under his command.

To Sir Albert Cunningham, for himself and a Regiment of Dragoons under his command, &c., &c.

To Colonel Zachary Tiffin, for himself and his Regiment of Foot.

To Colonel Lloyd, for himself and his Regiment of Foot.

To Colonel Mitchelburne, for himself and his Regiment of Foot.

To Colonel St. John, for himself and his Regiment of Foot.

To Colonel White, for himself and his Regiment of Foot.

* Not sent to Ireland. See Audit Accounts, Bundle 314, Roll 1,248.

† These three French regiments were made up principally from the French Huguenots expelled from France.

To Colonel Hamilton, for himself and his Regiment of Foot.
 To Captain Richards, for a company of Fusiliers raised at Londonderry.
 To Colonel Henry Nicholson, for some troops of Dragoons and one troop of Horse, being part of the Inniskilling forces.

PAYMENTS ON ACCOUNT OF THE DANISH FORCES.

This account gives payment made to the following, on account of the forces to be raised in Denmark.

To Mons. Joseph Herne, to be remitted to Robert Mouldsworth, his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary at Denmark, upon account of the Danish forces to be employed in Ireland.

To George Barrett, Town Major of Hull, for money expended on the said forces.

To the Sieur de Rosenheim, Commissary-General of the Danish forces, for moneys disbursed on account of the said forces.

A Letter-of-Attorney was given on 21st March, 1689, by Major-General Kirk, for Lady Mary Kirk to have authority to receive all sums of money "which now are or hereafter shall become due on account of the place of storekeeper at the Palace of Whitehall."*

In the Journals of the House of Commons is an estimate of the forces computed to be required for one year in Ireland, commencing from 1st March, 1689, and which was as follows:—"Two regiments of Dragoons and twenty-five regiments of Foot (whereof sixteen to be raised), making 22,330 men, besides officers, to be employed in the service of Ireland." Some of the regiments were to have sixteen companies of fifty men in each, and others thirteen companies of sixty men in each. The total cost of the forces, including levy money, was estimated at £617,243 15s. per annum.†

The establishment of the Regiment on the 1st July was as follows:—

REGIMENT OF FOOT COMMANDED BY MAJOR-GENERAL KIRK, CONSISTING OF 13 COMPANIES OF 60 MEN IN EACH; IN ALL, 780, BESIDES OFFICERS.

FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS.

	Per Diem.	Per Annum.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Colonel, as Colonel	0 12 0	219 0 0
Lieutenant-Colonel, as Lieutenant-Colonel ...	0 7 0	127 15 0
Major, as Major... ..	0 5 0	91 5 0
Chaplain... ..	0 6 8	121 13 4
Adjutant... ..	0 4 0	73 0 0
Chirurgion, 4s., and one Mate, 2s. 6d. ...	0 6 6	118 12 6
Quartermaster	0 4 0	73 0 0
	<u>2 5 2</u>	<u>824 5 10</u>

* Audit Office Enrollments.

† Journals of the House of Commons, 1688-1693, Vol. X

ONE COMPANY.							Per Diem.	Per Annum.
							£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Captain ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 8 0	146 0 0
Lieutenant	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 4 0	73 0 0
Ensign ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 3 0	54 15 0
Three Sergeants, at 18d. each	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 4 6	82 2 6
Three Corporals, at 12d. each	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 3 0	54 15 0
Two Drummers, at 12d. each	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 2 0	36 10 0
Sixty Private Soldiers, at 8d. each	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 0 0	730 0 0
							<u>3 4 6</u>	<u>1,177 2 6</u>
The pay of 11 Companies more, at the same								
rates and numbers	...	...	...	...	...	...	35 9 6	12,948 7 6

ONE COMPANY OF GRENADIERS BELONGING TO THIS REGIMENT.

Captain ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 8 0	146 0 0
Two Lieutenants, at 4s. each	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 8 0	146 0 0
Three Sergeants, at 18d. each	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 4 6	82 2 6
Three Corporals, at 1s. each	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 3 0	54 15 0
Two Drummers, at 1s. each	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 2 0	36 10 0
Sixty Grenadiers, at 8d. each	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 0 0	730 0 0
							<u>3 5 6</u>	<u>1,195 7 6</u>
Total for this Regiment							<u>44 4 8</u>	<u>16,145 3 4</u>

There is in this Establishment Book a list of officers that have quitted or been turned out of the service in Ireland and placed upon half-pay, &c.

CHAPTER V.

THE WAR IN IRELAND TO SECOND SIEGE OF LIMERICK.

1690.

CONTENTS.—King prepared for new Campaign in Ireland—Battle of Cavan—List of Troops in Ireland—Capture of Charlemount—Capture of the Castle of Killishandra—King sets out for Ireland—Arrives at Head Quarters of the Army—Retreat of King James to the Boyne—The two Armies face to face—List of Troops both sides—Battle of the Boyne—Retreat of King James to Dublin, and his landing at Brest, in France—Rejoicings in London over the Victory—Defeat of English Fleet—King William divides his Army—Kirk receives Surrender of town of Waterford—King William resolves to return to England—Affairs at home improving, decides to stay with the Army—The Army advances on Limerick—Second Siege of Limerick—General Sarsfield destroys large Convoy—Grand assault on the Town—Besiegers driven back—Siege raised—Retreat of King William to Carigaules—Siege and Capture of Cork and Kinsale by Marlborough—King leaves Ireland—Relief of Bir by Kirk—Army go into Winter Quarters.

THE year did not open well for the King at home, and he saw clearly that his safety lay in making vigorous efforts to reduce Ireland to submission. He made up his mind to go over himself and conduct the campaign. Early in January he had begun to make preparations, and had written Schomberg that he was sending over four extra regiments from Scotland, comprising about 3,120 men. He ordered Schomberg to make careful hospital provision for the sick and wounded, and to provide an able surgeon to each regiment. He made contracts for immense quantities of stores and arms, and made preparations to send four of the newly-invented wheel engines, which discharged 150 musket barrels at once, and, "by turning a wheel, as many more."*

The first operation that the "Queen's" were engaged in this year was to place Belturbet in safety, covering the approaches by intrenchments and strengthening the garrison. 300 men of the Regiment were detailed for this duty about the first fortnight in February.

* Luttrell, Vol. II., p. 4.

From a letter of Lord Shrewsbury, dated Whitehall, 16th January, it would appear that about this time Kirk was fearful of being superseded in command, as the Minister writes that "he hopes Kirk will not easily believe that the King would put any hardships upon him by appointing anyone to command him out of order, but he finds that Kirk is not yet informed (which, however, is well known to those who have been in Holland) that M. Scravemore has been a major-general these several years."*

From some correspondence about this time between the Minister Shrewsbury and Kirk, it appears that the gallant defence of Londonderry and its brave defenders still held a prominent place in the minds of those about the Court. On the 30th January Kirk received a letter from Lord Shrewsbury, urging the claims of Edward Crofton to be employed as an officer in the Foot Regiment under Kirk's command. Lord Carnwath had interested himself in this gentleman's behalf. Crofton, it appears, had done excellent service as an officer during the siege, and the Minister was anxious that Kirk should employ him as an infantry officer. There are several letters of this kind in the correspondence from which this is taken.†

On the 22nd January Brigadier Stuart went out with a party of 500 Horse and Foot towards Dundalk, and brought in provisions taken from the Irish. On the 11th February Schomberg and a large portion of the Army advanced to Drummore, and then on to "Loughbritland," as they had heard that the Irish were moving in a body towards Dundalk. Sir John Lanier and Brigadier La Melonière went to reconnoitre towards Carlingford, returning with the news that there were only three regiments at Dundalk. Intelligence had in the meantime reached Colonel Wolseley that the Irish had resolved to fall upon him at Belturbet, and were concentrating their forces for the attack at Cavan, about eight miles off. He determined, therefore, to at once attack them, before they could complete their plans. On the 14th February, the same day that William and Mary were crowned in London, Colonel Wolseley sent off his dispatch to the Duke of Schomberg, giving an account of the battle of Cavan.

Wolseley relates that he marched out of Belturbet at four p.m., on Monday, the 12th February, with a detachment of about 700 Foot, including the party of 300 men of the "Queen's" which was at Belturbet, and 300 Horse and Dragoons. The force passed the river at midnight, two miles above Callehays(?), where they came upon the

* State Papers, Ireland, 1679-1690, No. 352.

† Dom. State Papers, Letter Book (Secretary), 1688-1690.

INDEX

TO MAP OF

IRELAND.

Annacothy or Annacotty	D. c.	Gorey	D. f.
Antrim	H. f.	Grand Canal	E. d. & e.
Ardee	F. e.	Hollymount	F. b.
Arklow	D. f.	Inch	I. d.
Armagh	G. e.	Inniscorthy or Enniscorthy	C. e.
Atherry or Athenry	E. c.	Inniskilling	G. d.
Athlone	E. d.	Kenmare, R.	B. a.
Aughrim	E. c.	Kinsale	B. c.
Ballyhaise	F. e. & G. e.	Kintyre	I. f.
Ballycanew	C. & D. f.	Kilcock	E. e.
Ballina	G. b.	Kildare	E. e.
Ballinasloe	E. c.	Kilrush	D. b.
Ballinglass	D. e.	Killaloe	D. c.
Ballygawley	G. e.	Killeshandra	F. d.
Ballyhack	C. e.	Liffey, R.	E. e.
Ballyhaunis	F. c.	Limerick	D. c.
Ballymore	E. d.	Lisburn	H. f.
Banagher	E. d.	Londonderry	H. d.
Bantry Bay	B. a.	Loughbrickland	G. f.
Barrow, K.	D. e.	Longford	F. d.
Belfast	H. f.	Loughrea	E. c.
Belturbet	G. d.	Malin Head	I. d.
Birr	E. d.	Matlock, R.	E. f.
Blackwater, R.	G. e.	Mayo	F. b.
Boyne, R.	E. e. & F. e.	Mearscourt	F. d.
Bray	E. f.	Monaghan	G. e.
Butlers Bridge	G. d.	Monkstown	B. c.
Caherconlish	D. c.	Neagh (Lough)	G. & H. e.
Carlingford	G. f.	Newcastle	C. b.
Carrickfergus	H. f.	New Ross	C. e.
Carrick (on Shannon)	F. d.	Newtown Butler	G. d.
Carrick (on Suir)	C. d.	Newtown Hamilton	G. e.
Cashel	D. d.	Nore, R.	C. e.
Castle Dermot	D. e.	Oldbridge	F. e.
Castletown	F. e.	Phillipstown	E. d.
Castlebar	F. b.	Port Rush	I. e.
Cavan	F. d.	Rathandra	E. e.
Clare	F. b.	Roscrea	D. d.
Clare (County)	D. b.	Rush	F. f.
Cloone	G. e.	Saltee Ids.	B. & C. e.
Clonmel	C. d.	Shannon R.	D. b. & c.
Connaught (Pro.)	E. b. & F. b.	Shannon Bridge	E. d.
Coleraine	I. e.	Six Mile Bridge	D. c.
Cork	B. c.	Slain or Slane	F. e.
Dingle Bay	C. a.	Sligo	G. c.
Donegal Bay	G. & H. c.	Suck, R.	F. & F. c.
Drogheda	F. f.	Suir, R.	C. d. & e.
Dublin	E. f.	Swilly (Lough)	I. d.
Duleek	F. e.	Tipperary	C. & C. d.
Duncannon	C. e.	Triun	F. e.
Dundalk	F. e.	Tuam	E. & F. c.
Dunmore	F. c.	Tubercurry	G. c.
Dunore	F. e.	Tullow	D. e.
Ennis	D. b.	Waterford	C. e.
Erue, R.	G. c. & d.	Wexford	C. e.
Foxford	F. b.	Wicklow	D. f.
Foyle (Lough)	I. e.		
Galway	E. b.		
Glenamaddy	F. c.		
Goffs Bridge	C. e.		

IRELAND.



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H. Miller
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Myer's Memo
's War, p. 11.

IRELAND.



scouts of the Irish, who at once gave the signal that the enemy was approaching. Wolseley got his troops safely over the river by one a.m., and intended to have been before Cavan an hour before daylight, in order to attack at dawn, but, finding the roads so bad, and having to pass with extra caution many defiles, he did not arrive there till half an hour after daylight. On arriving in front of the place he found the Duke of Berwick waiting for him with 2,500 men, which, with the garrison of 1,500, made a total of 4,000 troops, opposed to Wolseley's 1,000!

The Duke's account of the number of his troops is a little at variance with these figures. He gives his force as 1,500 Foot and 200 Horse. He makes no mention of the force Wauchop had in the garrison. Berwick is as inaccurate in his estimate of Wolseley's force as the latter was of his. He states Wolseley's force to be 3,000 Foot and 300 Horse.* The Irish troops were well posted before the town and protected by the guns of the fort.

Colonel Wolseley, on arriving, quickly made his dispositions, with much skill. The first move towards the enemy was made by an advanced party of Inniskilling Dragoons. These being met by an overwhelming party of the enemy's Horse, were driven back, and in their retreat passed in front of the Foot. This so enraged the Foot that some of "Kirk's" Regiment and "Wharton's" fired at the retreating Horse, killing seven or eight of them. The enemy's Horse pursuing too far, suffered severely, in returning, from the fire of the English Foot.†

Unfortunately the troops, as soon as they got into the town, fell to plundering. The confusion caused by this action being perceived by the Irish in the fort (which had not been captured), they made a vigorous sally on Wolseley's forces, and for a time all seemed lost. Wolseley's plans had, however, been carefully made, and on seeing the state of affairs, he at once hastened with all speed, with a party of about eighty Horse and Dragoons and about 250 Foot he had had posted in reserve at the beginning of the fight. Approaching the town he rallied his men, but seeing it was impossible to get the men out of the town he sent a party to set fire to it. This forced the plunderers out, and they joining the party which Wolseley was gallantly leading against the 1,500 from the fort, the Irish were driven back pell-mell into the fort. Wolseley's men, being now very fatigued, did not attack the fort, but returned to the garrison at

* Berwick's Memoirs, Vol. I., p. 61.

† Storey's Wars, p. 54.

Belturbet. It was an unfortunate circumstance—Wolseley being obliged to fire the town—as it was full of provisions, which might have been brought away and which was calculated would have served them for six months.

Wolseley, after the fight, praised highly the conduct of the party of the “Queen’s,” and also of a German regiment that was with him, commanded by Colonel de Grender, and of eight reformed French officers that were with him, one of whom was killed. Wolseley also obtained a large quantity of copper money, valued at four or five thousand pounds sterling.*

From the accounts he received from the prisoners the value of his action was fully proved. They informed him that the “Duke of Berwick was to command, at Cavan, a body of 10,000 men, which were to be made up out of detachments out of their whole Army.”

The Duke of Berwick, in his *Memoirs*, gives a slightly different account of the action round Belturbet. He mentions his forces as consisting of 1,500 Foot and 200 Horse. The Duke arrived at Cavan (five miles from Belturbet) late in the evening and in very bad weather. General Wauchop was his second in command, and had been in command of the station there the whole winter. The Duke seems to have been dissatisfied with his subordinate, for, though ordered to send out reconnoitring parties, he seems to have neglected it, and allowed Wolseley to approach by daylight within striking distance of the position. The Duke avers that he drove back Wolseley in disorder as far as the “brink of the hill”; but Brigadier Nugent and many officers being wounded, the men, seeing them carried off the field, a panic seized them, and “from being conquerors they became conquered.” All his Foot fled into the fort. Berwick estimates Wolseley’s force at 3,000 men and 300 Horse. The Duke lost 500 men in the fights round Belturbet, and Wolseley 300. The Duke afterwards retired on Dublin.†

By the destruction of all the provisions, both for Horse and Foot, and of the ammunition that had been collected in the town, a great blow was inflicted on the enemy, and their designs in that direction completely overthrown.

Colonel Wolseley, in sending his report of the battle, writes:—“Our men showed in this (as on former occasions) a great forwardness to engage the enemy, notwithstanding the inequality of their numbers,

* Home Office, King William’s Chest (formerly Sealed Bag), 1689, October; 1690, February; No. 6.

† The Duke of Berwick’s *Memoirs*, Vol. I., p. 62.

and gave new proof of their courage and bravery, and particularly Major-General Kirk's men."* He also promised he would have another bout with them for the fort. The loss on the part of the English was inconsiderable. Major Trehern, Captain Armstrong, Captain Mayo, and Captain La Mangère, and about thirty private men, were killed; Captain Blood, an Engineer officer, and about sixty privates, wounded. The loss of the enemy comprised Colonel O'Reilly, Brigadier Nugent, and several other officers, and about 300 men, killed; four captains, five lieutenants, two ensigns, a quartermaster, and about 200 men, taken prisoners.†

On the 4th March the *London Gazette* reported another action at Cavan, when the enemy was defeated, with a loss to the besiegers of only eight men and an ensign (name not stated) of Major-General Kirk's Regiment, and a loss to the enemy of between sixty and eighty men.‡ This later action at Cavan was designed by Kirk, who arrived before the place on the 14th February, at seven a.m. He had with him six squadrons of Horse and 1,500 Foot, including his own Regiment—the "Queen's." They had intended to have captured the fort, but were received so warmly by some troops that had been posted there that they were unable to carry out their object, and retreated. They then made a reconnaissance towards a fort on the other side of the town; but, though unable to capture it, they cut off a party of Wauchop's men that had been posted at Butler's Bridge.§

Evelyn relates|| that, having dined with the Minister, Lord Carmarthen, on the 19th February, he met there Lieutenant-General Douglass, who had been ordered from Ireland, and from whom he heard accounts of the soldiers in that country having "suffered severely for want of clothes and necessaries during this winter, and exceedingly magnifying their courage and bravery during all these hardships."

A diversion was made on the 15th by Sir John Lanier, who marched to Dundalk with 1,000 Horse and Foot, and, after a smart assault on the works, returned with "a prey of 1,500 cows and horses, with a loss of only one subaltern officer and two or three dragoons." Luttrell writes in his Diary that "Sir John burnt some houses belonging to the town, the Irish keeping within their

* *London Gazette*, 4th March, 1690.

† Storey, pp. 13-14, gives number of prisoners taken as sixty.

‡ *London Gazette*, Vol. II., p. 18.

§ Clark's *Life of James II.*, Vol. I., p. 172.

|| Evelyn's *Diary*, 19th February, 1690, p. 538.

intrenchments, and returned with a booty of 1,000 cows and 200 garroons.*

In March, the English, at the beginning of the month, received a reinforcement of troops by the arrival at Carrickfergus of the Duke of Wurtemberg with 6,000 Danes, "being proper men, very well clothed and armed."

The following was a list of the Danish troops :—

HORSE.

Colonel Jewel's Regiment ...	{mounted... 264 unmounted 4}	268 men.
Colonel Donop's " ...	{mounted... 250 unmounted 13}	263 "
Colonel Schescad's " ...	{mounted... 267 unmounted 14}	281 "
Colonel Eppingers' " ...	{mounted... 618 unmounted 3}	621 "

Being a total of ... 1,433 men.

The Foot was composed of eight regiments, as follows :—

Regiment of Guards ...	698
Queen's Danish Regiment ...	634
Prince Frederick's " ...	555
Prince Christian's " ...	547
Prince George's " ...	547
Zealand Regiment ...	527
Jutland " ...	554
Zuiland " ...	519
Total ...	4,581
Horse ...	1,433
Total ...	6,014†

On the 14th March King James also received a reinforcement of 5,000 Foot, under the command of Count Lauzanne and the Marquis de Levy. These troops, who were landed at Kinsale, consisted of—

The Red Regiment,
The Blue Regiment, and

* Luttrell, Vol. II., p. 18.

† Storey's Wars, pp. 96-97.

Two White Regiments, each divided into several battalions, being in all 5,000 men.*

Irish regiments were sent to France in exchange for them, as follows :—

Lord Mountcashel's (Major-General Macartney),
Colonel Richard Butler's,
Colonel David O'Brien's,
Colonel Fielding's, and
Colonel Arthur Dillon's.

An unsuccessful attempt was made on the 12th March by Colonel Callimot, with a party of his own and Colonel St. John's Regiment, to capture the strong fort and town of Charlemount—a very strong place, surrounded by a river called the "Black Water," twelve yards wide and four yards deep, and by an impassable bog. He endeavoured to set fire to the wooden bridge, but, beyond killing and taking about fifty prisoners and capturing a small redoubt near the counterscarp, nothing was done on the first attempt. The place, however, afterwards capitulated on the 14th May. When regularly besieged by the English, the tough old Governor, "Teague O'Regan," finding his provisions giving way, stipulated that he should be allowed to march out with his garrison, with their arms and baggage. A quantity of guns and ammunition were found in the place.

On the 17th April Schomberg wrote to King William, from Lisburn, acknowledging a letter he had had from the King informing him of the dispatch of some Artillery. He prays the King to send some money for the troops, and writes that as soon as the money is distributed he will send Major-Generals Kirk and Lanier to visit (and inspect) all the Infantry regiments in these quarters. An account was given on 1st May of the money wanted to clear the several regiments that were under Mr. Harbord's payment on the Irish establishment.

The same day that "Charlemount" surrendered, Colonel Wolseley and Colonel Foulkes, with a detachment of 1,200 men, took a castle called "Ballingargy" (or "Bellynacargy"). The approach was through a bog, through which the men proceeded under a heavy fire. In some places they were up to their waists in water. After a sharp attack the place surrendered. The loss of the attacking party was two captains, an ensign, and seventeen men; forty-three being wounded.

A gallant capture was made, on the 6th of April, of the Castle of

Luttrell's Diary, Vol. II., pp. 24-25, gives the numbers and soldiers sent as 6,000 to 7,000 men, convoyed by a fleet of twenty-six men-of-war, and that they landed the men at Cork.

Killishandra, situate about seven miles from Belturbet, by a detachment of troops under Colonel Wolseley, consisting of 700 men, drawn out of the regiments of Kirk, Earl, and Groves, with some of the Inniskilling troops. A feint having been made towards Feirag, Wolseley advanced with the main body of his troops against the castle. He arrived in front of the works at break of day, and having advanced, under cover of some hedges and ditches, to within half musket-shot of the defences, he planted a mine directly under the walls. The garrison having been summoned to surrender, and being made aware of the hopelessness of defending themselves, sent an officer to treat. The conditions were soon agreed to and the castle delivered to Wolseley about noon, Captain D'Arcy, in command, marching out with his troops an hour after.

Preparations were now made to prosecute the war vigorously, the King sending large reinforcements and supplies. Letters from Highlake, near Chester, at this time, state that 200 ships were there loading with troops and stores of all kinds.

Various warrants were at this same time issued with reference to the hospitals appointed for Ireland, and the rates to be paid for subsistence. Fourpence a day was to be allowed to each sergeant, threepence each to corporal or drummer, and twopence to each private. For the further support of these hospitals one day's pay was to be deducted yearly from all the forces in Ireland. All soldiers disabled in fight were to receive fivepence per diem; a corporal or drummer, sevenpence; a sergeant, elevenpence.

There is a document in Home Office Papers, dated 1st May, 1690 (King William's Sealed Bag), giving particulars of the pay due to the three regiments sent to Londonderry. From this paper it appeared there was due to the "Queen's," on 1st September, 1689, £5,440 14s. The pay due to 1st May brings a total indebtedness of £15,998 11s.; a like amount being due to Stewart's and Hanmer's Regiments.*

On the 4th June (o.s.) the King set out, early in the morning, with a small retinue for Ireland. On the 4th he stayed at Northampton, on the 5th at Lichfield, on the 6th at Whitechurch, and on the 7th at Colonel Whitley's, at Peel, between Chester and Highlake.† While at Chester, on the 8th, he attended divine service, and heard a sermon preached by the Bishop. He was met at Highlake by Sir Cloudesley Shovel and the captains of the Fleet, and sailed from there on the 11th, about noon, on board the *Mary*

* Home Office, King William's Chest (formerly Sealed Bag), 1690, March-September; No. 7.

† Luttrell, Vol. II., pp. 49-52.

yacht, attended by a Fleet of six or eight men-of-war, arriving at Carrickfergus on the 14th.

In King William's papers is a long and interesting account of the Irish affairs of this year, entitled, "Relation of his Majesty's Expedition in Ireland, and particularly at the Battle of the Boyne, drawn out of letters writ by persons of quality and credit." In this paper the writer says that the King, on his way to Ireland, called at Ramsay Bay, Isle of Man.

The King was in high spirits; the thought of action gave him new life. He was above all a soldier.

The Duke of Schomberg was awaiting the King in Carrickfergus. As soon as he heard of the King's arrival he drove in his carriage with all haste to meet him, attended by Major-General Kirk and other officers. They proceeded to Belfast on the same day.

Troops and stores continued to arrive. There were at this time not less than 500 sail in Belfast Harbour. The day after the King landed the officers of the Regiment crowded round him, and were presented to him. The day following his arrival being Sunday, he heard a sermon preached by Dr. Royle, who took for his text, "Through faith they subdued kingdoms" (Heb. vi. 11). On Monday Lieutenant-General Douglass came in. The King then started for Lisburn, the head-quarters of the Army. He arrived there on the 19th, and noting that things did not go so fast as he desired, he showed his displeasure, and told those about him "that he did not come to let the grass grow under his feet."* He soon made his presence felt. On the 20th he ordered all the Army to march into the field, and on the same day issued an order forbidding the pressing of Horse from the country people.

On the 21st a camp was formed at "Loughbritland," Major-General Kirk and his Regiment remaining at Newry, while Lieutenant-General Douglass, with twenty-two regiments of Foot and eight or nine of Horse and Dragoons were encamped between Hambleton Bar and Tendrogee. The Irish camp was at Ardee.

King James in the meantime was not idle. Rightly calculating that the march of the English troops would be towards Dundalk, he had denuded the country of supplies. On the 16th he left Dublin and joined the part of the Army under Lieutenant-General Geraldin, and encamped at Castle Town, Bellew, with his right to the town, facing the mountain, and having the small river before him which runs into the sea at Dundalk. At this camp the French and most of his troops joined him.†

* Storey's Wars, p. 68.

† Clark's Life of James II., Vol. II., p. 392.

The first skirmish between the two forces took place on the 22nd, at a place about half way between Newry and Dundalk, when a reconnoitring party of the English fell into an ambush, and lost heavily.

The writer of the paper in King William's Sealed Bag refers to this ambuscade, where, he writes, numbers were killed.

On the 23rd, Major-General Scravemore* was sent forward with a strong detachment, consisting of 500 Horse and a strong column of Foot, to reconnoitre towards the Irish camp. The same day the King went some distance beyond Newry with a party of Horse, both parties returning without any intelligence. The strength of these reconnoitring parties is given in King William's Papers as sixteen regiments of Foot, thirty-two squadrons of Horse, and seven squadrons of Dragoons. While the King was out on this reconnoitre he found the roads almost impassable for artillery, so men were set to work to make them passable. The King had not been long in camp before an aide-de-camp arrived from Kirk, with news that he had sent out a trooper from his reconnoitring party, and had found that the enemy had struck their camp and were retreating towards Ardee. Two ensigns, that had deserted from the enemy, gave Kirk an account that the Irish numbered 20,000, and that it was the discovery of the advance of the English that decided them to retreat. "They should wait for them at the Boyne."

King William had pushed forward with all haste to Dundalk. King James, not caring to risk a fight there, had retired, as stated, on the 23rd towards Ardee. On the 27th, hearing from deserters that the English had passed the mountains between Newry and Dundalk, James, on the 27th, returned to "Dumlane."

The next day he crossed the Boyne, and took up his encampment just over against the bridge, his right towards Drogheda and his left up the river.†

King William had in the meantime arrived at Lough Bricklone (?), from whence he marched on the 26th to Newry, and next day proceeded to Dundalk, which he found "handsomely fortified." Here he was joined by Douglass, with 10,000 men, who had marched in from Armagh.

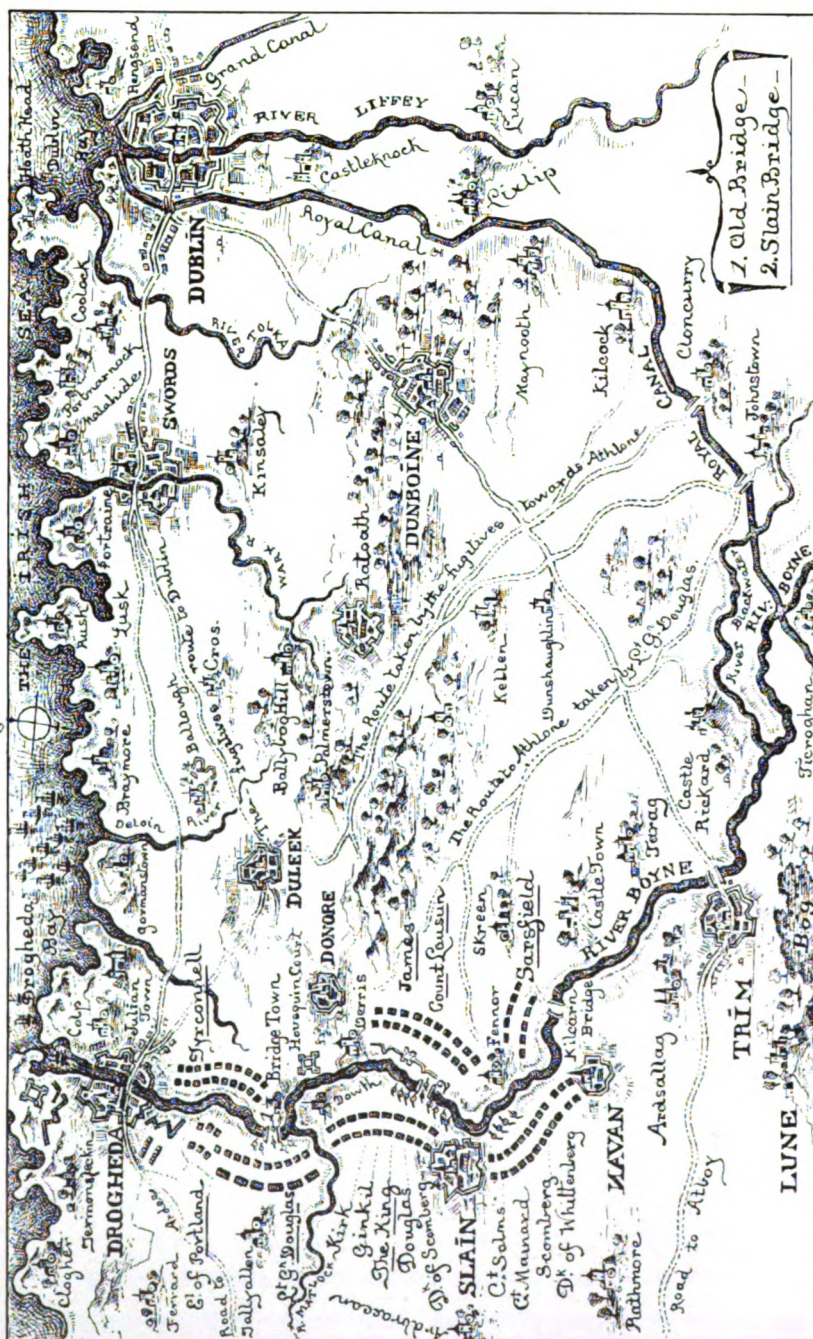
King James, when he retreated from Ardee, left behind him fifteen troops of Horse to "disguise his retreat." King William was baffled, or he might easily have cut off these fifteen troops and inflicted some loss on James before he had got to Boyne.‡

* This name is spelt in many different ways in original documents.

† Clark's Life of James II., Vol. II., p. 393.

‡ Home Office, King William's Sealed Bag, 1691 ; No. 11.

The Battle of The Boyne 1690.



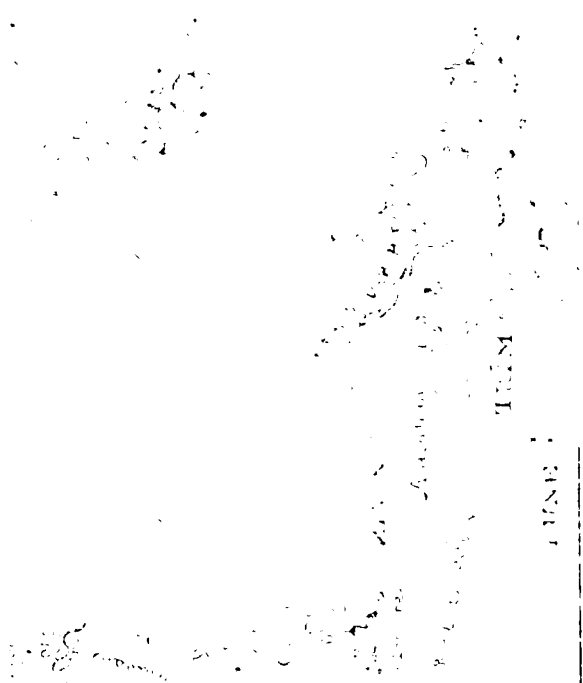
Compiled from The Battle of the Boyne. London, 1693. 40 Fol. 22. B.M.
 Battle of the Boyne, English Hist. Prints, 1690, B.M.
 Two Views of the Boyne Battle, 12906 (1), B.M.
 Maps (Boyne River, Map Catalogue, King's Library, 51—39, B.M.
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N. V. LILL, p. 177. 100 miles out

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The papers already quoted from give accounts of wounded and sick men left by the French soldiers of King James's Army on their march, and who would have perished from want and misery had King William not given orders to have them relieved. It is also related, as an instance of the bitter enmity of the times, that a man and woman were found, near Major-General Kirk's quarters, with considerable quantities of poison with which they intended to poison the wells. When caught they were knocked down by the soldiers, confessing their crime and giving the name of the person who had employed them.

William, having heard on Sunday, the 30th June, that James had crossed the Boyne, gave orders for the whole Army to advance to the river, now about eight miles off.* The advance was to be made on the 30th June, at break of day, in three columns. King William had, on the 28th, ridden out towards Ardee, where he encamped.

By nine a.m. the Army was within two miles of Drogheda, the Guards, under Sir John Lanier, forming the advanced guard. The King, who was in front, rode forward to a hill on the north-east of the enemy's camp with his staff, the Prince of Denmark, Duke Schomberg, Duke of Ormond, Count Solms, Major-General Scrammore, and Lord Sidney being with him. The King, in order to get a clearer view, rode on to Old Bridge, and stood for some time within musket-shot of the ford there, making his observations, afterwards riding along until he came nearly opposite the right of the Irish position.

The Army took up a position in front of the Boyne, in two lines; the left resting on the road leading to Drogheda and the right nearly opposite the left of the enemy. While this movement was going on the King rode to a small hill immediately opposite a sharp bend in the river, above which a little rivulet, called the Matlock, runs into the Boyne. Alighting from his horse he sat down for about an hour, carefully watching the camp of the enemy, while a small party of Horse, under the command of Captain Pownell, of Leveson's Horse, was sent to reconnoitre the river at Slane (or Slain) Bridge. The Irish, having no doubt observed the King's party, sent a small detachment of Horse, with two six-pounder guns, and began firing on them. The first shot was well placed, killing a man and two horses, close to the King; the second struck the ground near him, and, ricocheting off, grazed him in passing on the right shoulder, inflicting a slight

* Harris's *Life of William*, Vol. III., p. 68, says they were only four miles off on the 30th June.

wound. Mr. Conigsby, afterwards Earl Conigsby, instantly rode up and put his handkerchief on the wound, the King only remarking, "There was no necessity; the bullet should have come a little nearer."* In King William's Papers it is stated that the shot "passed so close to the King's back, upon the blade of his right shoulder, that it carried off a hand-breadth of his clothes, shirt and all, and made a wound that at first sight was terrible. It drew about a spoonful of blood, and looked as if it had been burnt."

When the Irish saw that their shot had taken effect on the King they set up a great shout, and, concluding he was killed, a report was sent to Dublin, and soon reached France, bonfires being lighted in joy at the event.

Macaulay gives some further details of the incident:—

"The first shot struck one of the holsters of Prince George of Hesse, and brought his horse to the ground. 'Ah!' cried the King, 'the poor Prince is killed.' As the word passed his lips he was himself hit by a second ball—a six-pounder. When struck the King sank down for a moment on his horse's neck. Solms flung himself on the ground and burst into tears."†

About three p.m. the English got some of their guns in position, and till night both sides kept up a desultory artillery fire, doing little harm, but enabling the King to see how well the English troops, who had never been in action, stood fire. "All is right," he said; "they stand fire well."‡

At nine p.m. a Council of War was held in camp, when the King declared his resolution to pass the river the next day. This decision was opposed by Schomberg, who advised attempting to pass the river at Slane with a portion of the Army the same night, and to get between the enemy and Dublin by securing the pass at Dunleek. This advice was not taken till the morrow, Schomberg, in consequence, receiving his order of battle rather sullenly.

The orders issued were that Lieutenant-General Douglass was to command the right wing of Foot and Count Meinhardt Schomberg the Horse. They were to march early towards Slane Bridge and endeavour to carry out the design of Schomberg, by flanking the enemy and getting possession of the pass of Dunleek, about four miles south of the Boyne. The left wing of the Horse, under William's immediate command, was to pass between the enemy's camp and Drogheda, while the centre position was to be forced at

* Harris's Life of William, Vol. III., p. 70.

† Macaulay, Vol. III., p. 628.

‡ Ibid., p. 629.

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POLYMER LETTERS

1. *Introduction*

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Old Bridge by a large body of Foot under the command of the veteran Duke of Schomberg.

The King, in spite of his wound and his delicate state of health, after all was settled rode through the camp at twelve o'clock at night, with torches, for a final inspection, and then retired to his tent impatient for the eventful day.*

Orders had been given that every soldier should be provided with a green bough or spray in his hat, to distinguish him from the enemy. Every soldier was to be provided with a good stock of ammunition. The password was "Westminster."

James had also held a Council of War, at which General Hamilton advised sending a party of Dragoons to a ford below the town of Drogheda (which, Storey writes, "we either knew not of or did not regard"), and eight regiments, with their whole left line, towards the bridge of Slane. The King, however, not agreeing to this, it was decided to direct their principal attention to defending the passes so as to make sure of their retreat to Dublin.

It will be well here to give a list of the troops, which is taken from "Storey's Wars."† The numbers, however, are not correct in this place, as they are taken from the account of the muster at Finglass on the 7th and 8th July, after the fight.

KING WILLIAM'S ARMY.

ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND IRISH HORSE.

Two troops, 1st and 3rd Life Guards	...	...	...	273
Grenadiers attached	...	...	...	95
Earl of Oxford's Regiment ("The Blues")	...	...	...	368
Sir John Lanier's	„	...	...	360
Colonel Villier's	„	...	...	245
Colonel Russell's	„	...	...	242
Colonel Coy's	„	...	...	236
Colonel Beverley's	„	...	...	244
Colonel Langston's	„	...	...	225
Count Schomberg's	„	...	...	242
The Duke of Schomberg's Regiment (French Regiment)	...	...	...	395
Colonel Wolseley's Regiment (Inniskilling)	...	...	...	423
(† 433—very illegible)				
Captain Harbord's (one troop)	...	...	...	38
Colonel Mathew's Royal Regiment of Dragoons	...	...	...	406
Colonel Leveson's Dragoons	...	...	...	246
Colonel Gwinn's	„	...	...	260
Sir Albert Cunningham's Dragoons	...	...	...	358
Carried forward	...	...	...	4,656

* Harris's Life of William III., Vol. III., p. 71.

† Storey, pp. 95-98.

	Brought forward	...	...	4,656
DUTCH HORSE.				
Troop of Dutch Guards	...	...	...	145
Lord Portland's Regiment	...	...	...	357
Minopovillan's	„	...	...	171
Lieutenant-General Ginkel's Regiment	...	...	...	152
Colonel Scholk's Regiment	...	...	...	167
Van Oyen's	„	...	...	164
Reideffel's	„	...	...	174
Rancour's	„	...	...	178
Nyenbery's	„	...	...	175
Colonel Eppinger's Dragoons	...	...	...	621
				<u>2,304</u>
DANISH HORSE.				
Colonel Jewel's Regiment	...	...	...	268
Colonel Dunop's	„	...	...	263
Colonel Schescad's	„	...	...	281
				<u>812</u>
Total of Cavalry	...			<u>7,772 *</u>
ENGLISH, IRISH, AND FRENCH FOOT.				
Major-General Kirk's Regiment	...	...	...	666
Brigadier Trelawney's	„	...	...	553
Colonel Beaumont's	„	...	...	526
Brigadier Stuart's	„	...	...	660
Sir John Hanmer's	„	...	...	593
Colonel Brewer's	„	...	...	571
Colonel Hasting's	„	...	...	606
Earl of Meath's	„	...	...	678
Colonel Foulke's	„	...	...	439
Colonel Gustavus Hambleton's Regiment	...	...	...	560
Sir Henry Bellasis's	„	...	...	628
Lord Lisburn's	„	...	...	611
Lieutenant-General Douglass's	„	...	...	648
Earl of Drogheda's	„	...	...	660
Colonel Earl's	„	...	...	693
Brigadier La Melonière's	„	(French Huguenots)	...	529
Colonel Cambon's	„	„	„	640
Colonel Callimot's	„	„	„	562
Colonel Mitchelbourne's	„	(Londonderry Foot)	...	664
Carried forward	...	...	...	<u>11,487</u>

* There is an error of addition in Storey's figures, pp. 95-96. He adds up the total of Dragoons as 1,870; it should be 1,891. His total of Cavalry—given as Horse, 5,881; Dragoons, 1,870; total, 7,751—should be, Horse, 5,881; Dragoons, 1,891; grand total, 7,772.

	Brought forward	...	...	11,487
Colonel Tiffin's Regiment	(Inniskilling)	...	...	625
Colonel St. John's	"	...	...	589
Lord George Hamilton's Regiment	"	...	...	583
				<u>13,284 *</u>

DUTCH FOOT.

Count Solms' three battalions	...	...	...	1,850
Two companies of Cadets	...	...	...	81
				<u>1,931</u>
Count Nassau's Regiment	...	...	...	652
The Brandenburg	"	...	...	631
Colonel Babington's	"	...	...	416
Colonel Cutt's	"	...	...	543
Colonel Groben's	"	...	...	490
				<u>4,663</u>

DANISH FOOT.

Danish Guards	...	...	...	...	698
The Queen's Danish Regiment	...	...	...	...	634
Prince Frederick's	"	...	...	...	555
Prince Christian's	"	...	...	...	547
Prince George's	"	...	...	...	547
The Zealand	"	...	...	...	527
The Jutland	"	...	...	...	554
The Zuitland	"	...	...	...	519
					<u>4,581</u>

Total of Foot ... 22,528

The total forces were—

Horse	...	...	...	7,772
Foot	...	...	...	22,528
				<u>30,300</u>

In addition to this there was a force of reformed officers of Horse, 111, and also a force of reformed officers of Foot, 372; Colonel Deering's, Colonel Herbert's, Colonel Hamilton's and Colonel White's Regiments, which were in garrison, are not included.

The muster only gives the men who marched in the ranks; neither officers nor sergeants are included in the numbers. As about 500 men were killed at the Battle of the Boyne, this number must be added to the above totals in order to get at the number of troops that fought there.

* Storey makes another error in addition of 51. He gives 13,335 as the total of English, Irish, and French Foot; it should be 13,284.

A LIST OF KING JAMES'S ARMY, TAKEN APRIL 19TH, 1690.

REGIMENTS OF HORSE.

Duke of Tyrconnell's Regiment	} Six troops in a regiment, and fifty-three men in a troop	954
Lord Galway's "		
Colonel Sarsfield's "		
Colonel Sutherland's Regiment	} Six troops in a regiment, and fifty-three men in each troop	1,590
Lord Abercorn's "		
Colonel Henry Lutterell's "		
Colonel John Parker's "		
Colonel Nicolas Purcel's "	} Eight troops in a regiment, and sixty men in each troop	1,440
Lord Dungan's Dragoons		
Sir Neal O'Neal's "		
Colonel Simon Lutterel's Dragoons	} Six troops in a regiment, and sixty men in each troop	1,440
Colonel Robert Clifford's Horse		
Sir James Cotton's "		
Colonel Thomas Maxwell's "		
Lord Clare's "		
Total of Horse		<u>5,424</u>

Foot.

The Royal Regiment	{ Twenty-two companies, and ninety men in each... ..	1,980
The Earl of Clancarty's Regiment.		
Colonel Henry Fitz James'	"	
Colonel John Hamilton's	"	
The Earl of Clanrickard's	"	
The Earl of Antrim's	"	
The Earl of Tyrone's	"	
Lord Gormanstown's	"	
Lord Slane's	"	
Lord Galloway's	"	
Lord Tonth's (?)	"	
Lord Duleek's	"	
Lord Kilmallock's	"	
Lord Kinmare's	"	
Sir John Fitzgerald's	"	
Sir Maurice Eustace's	"	
Colonel Nugent's	"	
Colonel Henry Dillon's	"	
Colonel John Grace's	"	
Colonel Edward Butler's	"	
Colonel Thomas Butler's	"	
Lord Bophin's (?)	"	
Colonel Charles Moor's	"	
Colonel Cormack O'Neal's	"	
Colonel Arthur Macmahon's Regiment.		
Earl of Westmeath's Regiment.		
Colonel Cavanaugh's	"	
Colonel Uxbrough's	"	

Colonel MacCarty Moore's Regiment.

Colonel Gordon O'Neal's	„
Colonel John Barrett's	„
Colonel Charles O'Bryan's	„
Colonel O'Donovan's	„
Colonel Nicholas Brown's	„
Colonel O'Gara's	„
Sir Michael Creagh's	„
Colonel Dom Brown's	„
Colonel Bagnal's	„
Colonel Mackellicut's	„
Lord Inniskillin's	„
Colonel Hugh Macmahon's	„
Colonel Walter Bank's	„
Colonel Felix O'Neal's	„
Lord Iveagh's	„
Colonel O'Kelly's	„

Or forty-four regiments of Foot, of thirteen companies
in each, and sixty-three men in each company ... 36,036

SUMMARY.

Foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	36,036
Horse	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,424
Royal Regiment of Foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,980
Giving a total for King James's Army of	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	<u>43,440</u>

And in addition to this there is given the 5,000 men in the four French regiments—the Red Regiment, the Blue Regiment, and two White Regiments—which were sent over in exchange for the regiments of Lord Mountcashel, Colonel Butler, Colonel Daniel O'Bryan, Colonel Fielding, and Colonel Arthur Dillon.

This estimate of Storey's is no doubt greatly exaggerated, as it is certain King James had not more than 26,000 men at the Boyne. In some authorities it is given as only 20,000.*

The eventful day opened fine and clear, and as soon as it was light the Army of King William was in motion. About six a.m. Lieutenant-General Douglass, in command of the right attack, began his march towards Slane Bridge; Count Schomberg, in command of the Horse, covering the advance of the Foot; the whole force numbering some 10,000 men. As they proceeded, guides informed them that the bridge was held by some Irish Dragoons, so it was determined to pass the river with some of the force at fords between the bridge and the camp. As soon as the movement of the English right wing was perceived, King James ordered the left of his forces to advance and oppose this turning movement, which he at once saw, if successful,

* Clark's Life of James II., Vol. II., p. 393.

must cut off his retreat to Dublin. At the same time he ordered the baggage, and all the guns but six, to be prepared to march towards Dublin.* On the arrival of the English Horse at Slane Bridge they found it held by Sir Neal O'Neal's Regiment of Dragoons, who for nearly an hour disputed the passage; but Lieutenant-General Douglass having brought up his guns, the Irish Dragoons were forced back and the whole of the right wing crossed the river with but little loss. The Irish lost only one officer and five or six men, besides their gallant Colonel, Neal O'Neal, who fell mortally wounded. As soon as the right wing passed the river, Douglass at once sent word to King William and asked for a reinforcement of Foot. He then formed his troops in two lines and advanced against the left of the Irish. Lauzanne (or Lazun), the French general, it being now ten a.m., made all haste to resist the heavy attack of Douglass on the left. The latter general, having received the reinforcements of Foot asked for, advanced to the edge of a bog that lay between him and the Irish, the two lines approaching within half cannon-shot.

King James was keenly watching the fight; seeing Lauzanne hardly pressed by Douglass, and believing that the main body of the English was behind Douglass, he ordered up from his right wing Purcell's Horse and Brown's Foot to the aid of the French general. The Duke of Tyrconnell, with the right wing of Horse and Dragoons and the two first brigades of the first line, were drawn up behind intrenchments and a breastwork, close to the river side, to defend the passage at Oldbridge. King William at this moment made his main attack on the centre and right of the Irish position.

The King, accompanied by the Prince of Denmark, putting himself at the head of his left wing, passed the river at a ford about a mile from Drogheda. At the same time Schomberg made the main centre attack on the Irish at Oldbridge; "Solms'" Blues, with drums beating, and the men ten abreast, led the way to the edge of the stream, followed by the troops of Inniskilling and Londonderry; while further towards Drogheda (about 100 yards below the Dutch) marched two French Protestant Refugee regiments, Colonel Callimot gallantly leading the van.

The English Infantry, including the two Tangier regiments (the "Queen's" and the 4th Foot), who, Macaulay writes, "were this day to begin a long career of glory," followed, and further to the left the Danes found a ford.

* Clark's Life of James II., Vol. II., p. 393.

In a few minutes, as our great historian writes, "The Boyne for a quarter of a mile was alive with musquets and green boughs." * The Irish soon fell back before the steady advance of the Dutch Blue Guards, though the ground, as the attacking force advanced after passing the river, was thick with defenders, who seemed to rise up out of the earth. Tyrconnell made desperate attempts to get his Irish Foot to face the Dutch Guards, but without success.

General Hamilton, who was with Tyrconnell and the main body of the Irish in the centre of the position, strove hard to oppose the crossing of the French brigade. Sending on a squadron, he broke through the French troops, who, not being armed with pikes to resist cavalry, were thrown into disorder. Colonel Callimot was soon down, mortally wounded, and as he was carried back to camp by four English soldiers he cried out to his men, "*À la gloire mes enfants, à la gloire.*" The Irish squadron now wheeled to the left, to go through the village and endeavour there to rally their men, but were met by the Dutch and Inniskilling Foot, and after a sharp fight the Irish Horse were cut to pieces, not above six or eight of the squadron escaping. The Irish Foot sent by Hamilton at the same time to oppose the crossing of Sir John Hanmer and the Nassau Regiment were not more fortunate, and were soon driven back by the English.

A party of Horse, sent by Hamilton to oppose the passing of the river, attacked the Danes so vigorously that they drove them back into the water. About this time Schomberg, who had remained on the other side of the river, directing the advance, seeing that the Danes and the French had been broken by Hamilton's Horse, hastily crossed the river and put himself at their head, calling out, "*Allons Messieurs, voilà vos persecuteurs.*" He had hardly spoken when some fifteen or sixteen of King James's Guards, who were returning full speed to their main body, and who Colonel Cambon's French Regiment had allowed to pass in front of them, mistaking them for their own troops, seeing Schomberg surrounded, cut at him with their swords, wounding him severely in the head. The French soldiers now seeing their error, hastily fired on the Irish Horse, one of their shots striking Schomberg in the neck and killing him instantly. In King William's Papers mention is made of the evidence of Monsieur Faubart, who was next to Schomberg, that the Duke's death was caused by the shots of the Danes behind him.

The King, with the left wing of Horse, consisting of the Danes and the Dutch, also of Colonel Wolseley's Horse and some Dragoons, crossed the river with difficulty, and after forming up, advanced, with

* Macaulay, Vol. III., p. 631.

the King at their head. He arrived at the centre of the position at the moment when the Irish Foot were advancing to attack the English Foot, the two forces having got within a pike's length of each other. The former, perceiving the King's Horse advancing on their right flank, retreated up a hill to the village of Dunmore, suffering great losses in officers, who vainly tried to rally the men. The English pursued up to Dunmore, when the Irish turned and forced King William's Horse to give way. His Majesty thereupon rode up to the Inniskilling Horse, and asked them, "What would they do for him?" Colonel Wolseley telling them it was the King who was desirous to lead them, they boldly advanced, with the King at their head. After starting them the King wheeled to the left to bring up his own men again, when the Inniskillingers, deceived by this movement of the King's, wheeled after him for about 100 yards. On this the King at once put himself at the head of some Dutch troops who were advancing, when the Inniskillingers, seeing their mistake, at once returned to the charge and did great execution. The fight had become very hot; Duke Schomberg's Horse, composed of French Huguenot refugees, in which were an unusual number of officers, behaved with great courage and intrepidity, inflicting great losses on the Irish.

In another part of the field a sharp contest had taken place between Lieutenant-General Ginkel, at the head of a small force, and a portion of the enemy. The fight took place in a lane. Ginkel was forced back by the Irish, but fortunately his danger was perceived by a party of Sir Albert Cunningham's Dragoons, commanded by himself, and another party of Colonel Leveson's Horse, commanded by Captain Brewerton. These officers ordered their men to dismount and line the hedges, and also to occupy an old house that flanked the lane. They were fortunately enabled to stop the pursuit by the Irish, but Ginkel nearly lost his life at the hands of his friends. He was so distressed at the retreat of his troops that he remained far in rear of them; the enemy coming up so close in pursuit that he was nearly mistaken for them when they were driven back. Half an hour's fighting in the lane sent the Irish headlong in retreat. Major-General Kirk and Lord Sidney were reported to have been very active, going from one place to another as "the posture of affairs required their presence."

Lieutenant-General Hamilton, now seeing it useless to send his Foot on, put himself at the head of all his Horse, and made a desperate attempt to retrieve the fortunes of the day. He was, however, soon beaten off, wounded, and taken prisoner. On being brought before King William, he asked him "whether the Irish would fight

any more." "Yes," said he; "an' please your Majesty upon my honour I believe they will, for they have a good body of Horse still." The King looked at him, and repeated once or twice, in a tone not to be mistaken, "*Your honour.*" That was all the punishment the traitor received.*

When at last Lauzanne on the left, seeing himself in danger of being surrounded and cut off, ordered a retreat, Count Meinhardt Schomberg, furious at the loss of his gallant father, pursued the defeated enemy with such vigour that he covered the ground with their slaughtered troops; nor did he desist till the King sent to him expressly commanding him to return to Duleek, where the victorious army bivouac'd for the night. This was the pass the unhappy King James had so jealously guarded, in case of defeat, for his retreat to Dublin, and through which he hastened, when urged by Lauzanne to do so, when the fight was lost.

The losses in this battle, considering the magnitude of the forces engaged, the stakes played for, and the desperate nature of the attack, must be considered very small, and can only be accounted for by the feeble resistance made by the Irish Foot. The largest estimate of the loss on King James's side does not exceed 1,500, while on the side of William it is reckoned at less than 500, or a total of 2,000 out of about 60,000 troops engaged—a little more than three per cent.

The loss of superior officers in both Armies was serious. On the side of William, the Duke of Schomberg and the gallant defender of Londonderry—the priest-soldier, Walker. On the side of King James, the Lords Carlingford and Dungan, the brave Colonel Sir Neal O'Neal, the French General the Marquis Hocquincourt, and many other officers. The Duke of Berwick had a narrow escape. His horse being shot during a charge, he fell, was ridden over, and, though much bruised and shaken, managed to escape on the horse of a fallen trooper.

The victorious Army captured almost all the stores and baggage of the Irish, the Inniskilling men being particularly fortunate in seizing all the plate, money, and jewels of Tyrconnell and Lauzanne, valued at £10,000.†

Two days after the battle King William sent the Duke of Ormond, with his uncle, Henry Lord Auverquerque, and nine troops of Horse, to take possession of the City of Dublin.

* Storey's Wars, p. 84, and Harris's Life of William III., Vol. III., p. 76.

† Luttrell's Diary, Vol. II., p. 71.

The Duke afterwards went on to Castle Dermot, and entertained his King splendidly there on the 19th July. In an account of the Battle of the Boyne, written by the hand of King James, he seems to have feared for the result of the battle, though he decided that it was necessary to risk it. He seems from the first to have apprehended that the attack would be on his left, with a view of cutting off his retreat.

King James made all haste to Dublin, arriving there the same night. He found letters awaiting him from the Queen, advising him of Luxemburg's victory over the Prince of Waldeck at Fleurs. At a hasty consultation with his Council it was unanimously resolved that he should, as soon as possible, escape to France. About midnight an express came from the Duke of Berwick to say he had rallied about 7,000 of the defeated troops, and asking for some Horse and Dragoons to cover his retreat; but the King could only send some nine troops. By the morning came another dispatch from the Duke, that he had been unable to hold the troops together, and one from Tyrconnell, begging the King to make good his escape or it would be too late. As the King was mounting his horse at five in the morning, four French colonels (De la Hoquette, Famechon, Chamarante, and Merode) begged his Majesty to order horses, that they might accompany and defend him. Horses, however, could not be procured, so they were left behind; but soon after leaving Bray they joined the King with news that the pursuit was close behind him. In order to arrest the pursuit, two of the companies of troops that were with the King were left to defend the bridge at Bray. The next day, early in the morning, James arrived at Duncannon. The French colonels hurried on to Passage, where they found the ship *Lazun*, of twenty guns, lately arrived with corn from St. Malo. They engaged the captain to fall down with the tide to Duncannon, and hastening back to the King, acquainted him with what they had done, strongly advising him to take a passage in this ship for Kinsale, which he did, arriving early next morning. Here they found a small squadron of seven ships, which had been sent by the Queen for the King's service. Before the King embarked for Brest he wrote to Tyrconnell, acquainting him that, in compliance with his advice and that of M. de Lauzanne and all his friends, he was setting out for France, from whence he hoped soon to send considerable reinforcements. He left them at the same time fifty thousand pistoles, which was all the money he had remaining. He arrived at Brest on the 28th July.

King William has been blamed for not, at once and with vigour,

following up his victory, as he might possibly have there ended the war. James on his side has been rightly blamed by many for not—as his great rival did—taking a more active and personal part in the fight, on which so much depended both for him and for his adherents. It is not too much to say that—King William being a keen and able soldier—the fallen King could not have had a more dangerous opponent.

On the news arriving of the great victory of the Boyne, the Minister, Nottingham, by command of the Queen, sent an express to the Lord Mayor of London, informing him that the King had inflicted a complete defeat on King James's Army, had taken the greatest part of their ammunition and baggage, and was marching with his whole Army towards Dublin, which city the Irish troops had quitted. The Queen "doubted not that the Lord Mayor would give orders for all possible demonstrations of joy for the great and happy success of the King and his Army." On some of the bayonets of King James, found on the field, was found inscribed, "*Le Roi de France fera couper la tête du Prince d'Orange*"; on the reverse was the word "*St. Louis*."*

Eight days after the victory of the Boyne, William heard with sorrow the news of the defeat of the combined English and Dutch Fleet at Beachy Head, and of the defeat of the Dutch Army by the French at Fleurus and Charleroy, though, as a writer says with respect to the battle of Fleurus, the losses of the victors was so great that this battle proved the means of preserving England.† Drogheda surrendered the day after the Boyne, and on Thursday, the 3rd, the King marched towards Dublin, arriving at Finglass, about two miles from the capital, on Saturday, the 8th July. Here he reviewed his troops, and on Sunday attended divine service in St. Patrick's Church.

On the 9th he divided his Army into two portions, sending Lieutenant-General Douglass with the following regiments towards Athlone, with orders to capture the place:—

HORSE.

Colonel Langston's.
Colonel Russell's.
Colonel Wolseley's.‡
Sir Albert Cunningham's Dragoons.
Colonel Gwinn's
„

* Home Office, King William's Sealed Bag, 1691; No. 11. † Burnet, p. 554.

‡ In King William's Papers it is given as four regiments of Horse, two of Dragoons, and ten regiments of Foot.

Foot.

Lieutenant-General Douglass's Regiment.

Sir Henry Bellasis's Regiment.

Sir John Hanmer's "

Colonel Babington's "

Lord Drogheda's "

Colonel Cutt's "

Colonel Hamilton's "

Colonel Mitchelbourne's "

Colonel Tiffin's "

Colonel St. John's "

The force marched to Athlone, and after an effectual siege rejoined the King's Army, on the 8th August, at Carriganlis, about five miles from Limerick, which place the King had resolved to take. Here the Irish and their French allies had resolved to make a stand.

On the 9th July King William went on with the remainder of his force (which included in it the two Tangier regiments) to Cromlin, and by Killkullen Bridge, Tommelin, to Castle Dermot. Here the King received packets from England, which seemed to give him much trouble.

On the 13th he rested all day at Inchquin, and sent messengers and parties to bring in intelligence from all places. While here Sir Patrick Traut and others came from Waterford to Kirk to get him to mediate for them. On the 18th the King was at Brussels Bridge, on which day the enemy quitted Clonmell.

By easy marches the Army arrived on the 21st at Carruck, within twelve miles of Waterford, from whence, on the 22nd, the King sent General Kirk, with his Regiment (the Queen's), Colonel Brewer's, and a party of Horse, to summon the town of Waterford to surrender. After some little parleying the town capitulated on the 25th July, and also the strong fort of Duncannon, seven miles below Waterford.

Captain Burke was Governor of the fort, and when summoned to capitulate he asked for six days' grace, in order to be able to communicate with Tyrconnell. Soon after, seeing Sir C. Shovel with sixteen Frigates coming in view, he wrote to Kirk that he "had with much ado persuaded the officers to accept what had been offered," and the place surrendered.

On the same day Waterford surrendered the King went to see it. On his return to camp he held a Council and declared his intention of going to England, and started for Kilkenny. He had not gone far on his way home before he received, at Chappel Izard, a more favourable report of affairs at home. He therefore resolved to return to his Army. As soon as he reached the camp he ordered Count

Schomberg's Horse, now the 7th Dragoon Guards; Colonel Mathew's Dragoons, now the 1st or Royal Dragoons; and Colonels Hasting's and Trelawny's Foot, respectively the 13th and 4th Foot; and also the 1st Troop of Life Guards, now 1st Regiment of Life Guards, to be shipped to England. On the 2nd of August he set off, and on the 4th joined the Army at a place called Goulden (or Goolten) Bridge. The next day he sent out an advanced party of Horse to reconnoitre towards Limerick, having learnt that the scattered forces had been drawn together and now numbered about 20,000 men. It was reported that they had committed great outrages about the place, and that the French troops had taken possession of the town and turned out all the Irish forces.* On the 7th the force halted at Carriganlis, where the next day the forces under General Douglass rejoined them.

Early in the morning of the 8th a reconnaissance in force towards Limerick was made by order of the King. The troops detailed were about 1,100 Horse and Foot, under the commands of Lord Portland and Brigadier Stuart. They had advanced to within cannon-shot of the town, and were making their observations without resistance, when they were joined by the King, with whom was Prince George of Denmark and other officers and an escort of about 300 Horse. The King, with his party, pushed his reconnaissance close to the walls of the town. A detachment of the Irish Horse was sent out against them, but were met so resolutely by the advanced guard of the King's party (under the command of Captain Selby, of Lord Oxford's Regiment) that they retired, declining to engage.

The King completed his observations without any more trouble, except a few shots from the town, which did no harm.

The next day, early in the morning of the 9th of August, the whole Army began the march to the town.

The advanced guard, composed of three squadrons of Horse and Dragoons and 1,000 Foot, was under the command of Sir Henry Bellasis, who had with him Lord Drogheda and Colonel Earle. At six a.m. they came up to the outposts of the enemy, on a hill about three miles from the town. The outposts being quickly driven in, our men advanced to the top of the hill, from whence a good view of the town could be had. They observed that the approaches to it were hidden by thick inclosures and hedges, behind which the enemy were sheltered. The pioneers with the advanced guard having cleared away some hedges, the forces were able to advance with a broad front, the enemy drawing back without resisting till they came to

* Luttrell's Diary, Vol. II., p. 87.

a narrow pass, about 150 yards wide, between two bogs. This neck of land was full of hedges, with an orchard, a stone wall, and the ruins of a large house which the Irish had burnt the day before.

A detachment of the enemy's Horse occupied that part of the pass just beyond the ruined house, and the English Horse had several small skirmishes with this party while the pioneers were clearing the ground. To the right and left of the Irish Horse the hedges were lined with their Foot, who had been ordered to make a firm stand and dispute the pass to the last.

The whole of the Army had by this time come up, having quickly followed the advanced guard. The Dutch Guards were on the extreme right, then the English regiments and the Danes on the left. The right wing was commanded by Lieutenant-General Douglass, and the left by Prince Wurtemberg and Major-General Kirk.

The English Horse were in the centre, opposite the pass, immediately behind the advanced guard. As soon as the English got into the pass the Irish opened fire on them from behind the hedges, but made no serious stand, retreating from hedge to hedge until they were driven under the walls of the town. Had they attempted seriously to hold the position (which was a strong one, and dominated by a fort called Ireton's Fort, placed advantageously on a small hill on the right of the pass) the English would have lost severely. As it was, the only losses of consequence were caused by the guns from the town, which opened upon the allies as soon as the Irish were driven under the walls. As soon as the King opened fire, from four guns he had placed in the abandoned fort, he soon silenced the enemy's Artillery. Under protection of these guns from the fort the Army of investment took up its position within cannon-shot of the town, and the first siege of Limerick commenced.

When, as the Army had taken up its position, the King sent a trumpeter to summon the town to surrender, the major part of the garrison were inclined to submit; but the Duke of Berwick, Sarsfield, and the Governor, Boisleau, opposed it strongly, supporting their reasons by accounts of insurrections in England, and the reported arrival of fresh help from France. The reply of the besieged, therefore, was to the effect that a vigorous defence of the town King James had intrusted to them was the best way to gain the "Prince of Orange's good opinion!!"

The same evening a small party of Dragoons were sent to reconnoitre towards Annaghley, a ford across the Shannon some two or three miles above the town, which was reported to be guarded by six regiments of Foot, three of Horse, and two of Dragoons, strongly posted behind hedges, with a house and brick wall at their rear. The

Horse were fired upon but sustained no loss. In the morning, seeing that no attempt had been made by the Irish during the night to cross the river, the King sent a strong party, under Lieutenant-General Ginkel and Major-General Kirk, consisting of eight squadrons of Horse and Dragoons and three regiments of Foot, viz., Kirk's (the Queen's), Brigadier Stuart's and the Earl of Meath's. On their arrival at the ford they found the enemy had deserted their post during the night, upon which Ginkel and Kirk passed over without opposition.

The King immediately afterwards inspected the place, and left General Kirk, with the three regiments of Foot, in command there. Kirk posted one regiment on the other side of the ford and two on the side nearest the camp, a party of Horse (relieved every twenty-four hours) supporting them and keeping up communication with the camp.

A deserter—"a Frenchman in our Army"—to the town having informed the Irish that a convoy of eight pieces of good artillery, 120 barrels of powder, bridge boats, tools, and other things necessary for a siege—in all about 100 wagons—was under a small guard on its way to the King's camp from Kilkenny, General Sarsfield, who was in the town, determined to capture and destroy it. Rightly estimating that nothing would more embarrass the besiegers than the loss of this convoy, he, with 500 Horse and sixty Dragoons, quietly crossed the Shannon at Killaloe, and lay in ambush for the convoy in the mountains about seven miles from the camp. The design of Sarsfield ought to have been frustrated had the precautions to guard the convoy, ordered by the King, been energetically carried out; but the detachment of 500 Horse under Sir John Lanier, which he sent out to meet the train, was so long in coming up that Sarsfield was enabled to completely effect his object, and, being led by guides to the very spot where the convoy had halted at the ruined castle of Ballynelly, he fell upon the escort, drove it off, and blew up the whole of the stores. Sir John Lanier's party, being made aware of the disaster by the noise of the explosion, endeavoured to get to the rear of the retreating column, so that he might intercept Sarsfield's passage over the Shannon. Sarsfield, however, escaped by another ford, and got safely back into Limerick. Cunningham's Dragoons were more fortunate, in falling in with part of Sarsfield's force, killing Captain James Fitzgerald and fifteen men; but the main body of the Irish escaped into the town.

Some of the guns were afterwards brought into camp, and later on guns were sent from Waterford, so that by Sunday, the 17th of August, the King was enabled, by the great exertions made by his able Quartermaster, General Cambon, Colonel of one of the

Huguenot regiments, to open fire upon the town. At night the trenches were occupied by seven battalions, taken from the English, French, Danish, and Dutch Foot; the whole commanded by the Prince of Wurtemberg, with Major-Generals Kirk, Tetteau, and Brigadier Sir Henry Bellassis assisting. This same night the trenches were advanced 300 paces, and an attack made on a small fort near the town, which was captured with but slight resistance.

The King had several narrow escapes on the 13th. Ten balls went close over his tent, and one shot down a tent not twenty yards behind him. Again, next day, he went out to view the ranks with Count Schomberg, when the Count, riding close to the King, had his horse shot under him.

The siege was kept up with spirit day and night, and on Wednesday, the 20th, a gallant and successful attack was made on a redoubt, called "Sadd Fort," a little to the right of Ireton or Cromwell Fort, near St. John's Gate. On signal agreed on, at about two p.m., a gallant rush was made from the trenches by a party of 250 men, taken from Douglass's, Sidney's, Nassau's, and Stuart's regiments, assisted by some French volunteers, and protected by a party of English Horse drawn up in a lane on the right of our trenches. The Foot, resolutely climbing into the fort, soon made themselves masters of it, killing forty of the defenders and driving the rest into the town. Our loss at the taking of this fort and in the sally afterwards was—of Foot, fifty-eight killed and 140 wounded, and of Horse, twenty-one killed and fifty-two wounded, besides the loss sustained by the Danes, which is not given. The Irish were reported to have sustained a loss of over 300 men.

An unsuccessful sally out of the town to recapture the fort was made, and vigorously repulsed. By the 20th the trenches were so far advanced that it was resolved to make an attempt to capture a small fort that had been erected by the Irish. The signal being given by the King from a battery near, the Grenadiers at once rushed forward, and in less than half an hour it was in their hands; the garrison, consisting of 150 men, being all killed except Captain Barrett, who was in command of the fort. He begged his life, promising to make considerable discoveries. He acquainted them that there were several mines ready to spring, that the garrison had great stores, and consisted of about 10,000 men.*

On the evening of the 20th Kirk was on duty in the trenches when a sally was made out of the town to recover the fort, but the

* Luttrell, Vol. II., p. 90, and Historical MSS., Commission Seventeenth Report, App., Part VII., p. 292.

Irish met with so vigorous a resistance that they soon retired. The position they had gained enabled the besiegers to demolish the towers in the town, from which elevation the Irish had been able to fire into the trenches.

By the 26th more guns were placed in position, and a breach was made in the wall, near St. John's Gate, which the Engineers assured the King was sufficient for an assault to be made on the town.

Accordingly on the 27th orders were issued for a general attack. The breach in the walls appeared to the besiegers to be about 12 yards wide. Lieutenant-General Douglass was given the command of the assault. All the Grenadier companies in the Army, numbering about 500 men, commanded by their respective captains, were ordered into the trenches, and were to form the forlorn hope. Their orders were, first to possess themselves of the counterscarp, then rush towards the breach, and endeavour to enter the town. The Grenadiers were supported by one battalion of the Dutch Guards, on the right, next to them, were Brigadier Stuart's regiment, Lord Meath's, Lord Lisburne's, and the two Brandenburg regiments, while on the extreme left were Colonel Cutts' and the Danes. The centre of the supporting battalion was immediately behind the breach. When all were ready, at about 3.30 p.m., the signal was given by the firing of three guns, when the Grenadiers leapt out of their trenches from the angle nearest the breach, and ran towards the counterscarp, firing as they ran, and throwing their hand grenades. The Irish firing with deadly effect, the Grenadiers, in spite of their severe losses, pressed forward, jumping into the dry ditch and scrambling up the counterscarp with such determination that the Irish turned and fled into the town, our men rushing after them through the breach. Had the supporting regiments followed up immediately, the attack would have been completely successful. As it was, having advanced and lined the counterscarp, they paused, having no orders to go further. The Irish, perceiving that the assault was not followed up, rallied, and of the Grenadiers who had entered the town by the breach few escaped alive. The troops on the counterscarp sustained the fire of the Irish for three hours, endeavouring to hold the position so hardly won by the Grenadiers; at last the ammunition being all spent, they were obliged to retreat to the trenches, and with heavy loss. The Brandenburg regiment got into a battery of the town near the trench called the Black Battery, and, whether by design or accident, the ammunition blew up, causing terrible loss. Colonel Cutts with

the Danes made an attack on the South Gate on the left of the trench, and after desperate and futile efforts to capture it, had to retire with severe loss. The King had watched the attack from a position on the hill near Cromwell Fort, and saw with great concern his troops beaten back. The losses were very great on the side of the allies, 500 killed and double that number wounded, the loss in officers being also very serious. Four of the colonels of the supporting regiments were wounded, including Sir Charles Fielding, commanding General Douglass' regiment, Colonel Cutts, the Earl of Meath, and Brigadier Stuart. In the five English regiments, Douglass', Stuart's, the Earl of Meath's, Cutts' and Lord Lisburn's, fifteen officers were killed and forty-four wounded, some mortally; this was exclusive of the losses of the Grenadiers and of the French, Dutch, and Danes, who, it was calculated, lost as heavily as the English regiments.

Two days after the failure of the assault, the King called a council of war, when it was resolved, as the wet season had set in and the ammunition was short, to raise the siege. Accordingly, on Saturday the 20th August, the heavy cannon having been gradually withdrawn, the Army began its retreat, and by the next day, Sunday, all had left the camp. They rested the 1st September at Cariganless, the King making all haste for England, sailing from Waterford and arriving at Kingsweston, near Bristol, on the 6th September, and at Kingston on the 10th.

He had, while before Limerick, received news from England that the Fleet was moving and that the French Fleet had gone to Brest. The passage to Ireland thus being safe, the Earl of Marlborough proposed to the King that he should bring over 5,000 men from England, and, with an equal number sent from the Army returned from Limerick, he should attack Cork and Kinsale. The King having agreed to this, sent on towards Cork, before leaving for England, the contingent asked for, which he placed under the command of the Duke of Wertemburg. Some little trouble occurred when the Duke came in touch with the forces brought over by Marlborough, both generals wishing to command the expedition, but Brigadier La Melonière interposed as mediator, and it was agreed that the command should be divided, the Earl commanding the first day and giving the pass-word "Wurtemberg," and the Duke the second day, the pass-word being "Marlborough."*

The expedition was immensely successful, mainly by the genius of the Great Captain, who "was on every day the best

* Harris's *Life of William III.*, p. 117.

General."* Marlborough landed his troops on the morning of the 23rd September, and on the 26th the Duke joined with his forces. By the 27th the town had been so vigorously attacked by Marlborough that the besieged asked for a truce. Not however liking the conditions imposed by Marlborough, the attack was renewed next day with fury from all sides, the soldiers, in face of a dreadful fire, fording the river up to their armpits, during which the Duke of Grafton, the illegitimate son of Charles II. and the Duchess of Cleveland, received a mortal wound. The town, seeing no hope of successful resistance, capitulated.

The next day the Army began its march to invade Kinsale, and, though the garrison there made a vigorous and clever defence, it fell before the tactics of the Great Captain on the 16th October, the garrison, 1,200 strong, marching out on the 17th, and being allowed to retire on Limerick.

The King, on leaving Ireland, had left the command to Count Solms, and entrusted the government of the country to Lord Sidney, assisted by Thomas Coningsby and Sir Thomas Porter.

On the 7th September General Douglass, with a part of the forces, marched from Tipperary towards the north into winter quarters.

On the 17th news was brought that the Duke of Tyrconnel, General Lauzanne, and Boisleau, the late governor of Limerick (who had been with some forces lying inactive at Galloway) had sailed for France, hurried by news of the Earl of Marlborough's expedition, leaving the young Duke of Berwick chief in command. The same day news was brought that Sarsfield, with five regiments of Horse, five of Foot, three of Dragoons, and three Field Pieces, was on his way to the Jacobite stronghold of Berwick, which had been captured from its owner, Sir Lawrence Parsons, on the 20th February 1688,† and again retaken by the troops of King William.‡

Major-General Kirk at once set out towards Berwick with seven regiments, his own, Hanmer's, Meath's, Cutts', Lisburne's, Earl's, and Drogheda's, with the Horse commanded by Sir John Lanier, consisting of his own regiment, Lord Oxford's, Langston's and Beverly's, Leveson's and part of Cunningham's Dragoons. On Tuesday the 16th, Kirk with his Foot was at Roscreagh, from whence he marched towards Bir, being joined by Lanier with his Horse some three miles from the town. Hearing that Sarsfield's party in Bir was very strong, Kirk thought it prudent to return

* Macaulay, Vol. III., p. 679.

† Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, p. 321.

‡ Luttrell, Vol. II., p. 111.

to Roscreagh that night, and sent an express to Douglass at Maryborough, some twenty miles off, for more Horse.

This support arriving next morning, Kirk retraced his steps towards Bir.

After a little skirmishing with the Horse, Sarsfield, on the 19th, decamped and marched to Bannohar Bridge, closely concealing his movement by an attack on Kirk's outposts the night preceding, Kirk losing a good opportunity of routing Sarsfield on his retreat. By the first week in October all the troops had, as far as can be ascertained, got into quarters at Bir. Solms, as soon as the campaign was checked, went to England, leaving Lieutenant-General Ginkel in command, with his head-quarters at Kilkenny.

At the end of December Major-General Kirk and Sir John Lanier were sent with detachments towards Lanesborough Pass. The Foot were composed of Lord Lisburn's and Lord George Hamilton's regiment, with detachments from Kirk's and Brewer's regiments. At the same time Douglass was ordered to march towards Sligo and fall upon the Irish there, but he found the country so cut up by the enemy, and so denuded of supplies, that he was unable to make any progress.

Kirk, with his troops, drove the enemy out of Lanesborough, but not following them up closely, they had time to destroy the bridge over the Shannon and thus cover their retreat. After this the troops again returned to their winter quarters.

General Ginkel wrote home on the 14th December an urgent request for money for the detachments he had sent out. He had received news from the Duke of Wurtemberg that the Danes were in a very mutinous humour, and could not be trusted out of their garrison with their pay. He wrote again on 15/25 December from Kilkenny, that he was starting on Thursday for Clonmell, all our troops will on Saturday be at the rendezvous." He sent his letters home by a major (not named) who had come in from the enemy to surrender and designs to serve the King, and who, he writes, is known to Major-General Kirk and served with him in Tangiers.*

A full council of officers was held on 12th September at Tipperary, presided over by Solms, the others present being Scravemore, Baron de Ginkel, Count de Nassau, Tettau, Duke of Wurtemberg, Lanier, and Kirk. After having examined the instructions sent over by the King and well considered the principal points therein, which were, amongst others, to come to

* Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, Part I., pp. 317, 318.

Dublin, look after the security of the north, and to send Douglass to help the enterprise of Marlborough at Cork, it was at last decided that while they were endeavouring to do all they could to carry out the orders of the King, they judged that to send Douglass with any considerable force towards Cork or Kinsale would expose the rest of the country to danger, fatigue the troops, and deprive the Army of the power of striking a blow at the enemy, who designed to ravage the country from Mullingar to Dublin, and thus to render the places destined by the Army for their winter quarter useless. Douglass, they thought, should be sent into the north, while another Army corps was sent to secure all the country between Mullingar and Dublin.

The paper is an interesting one, as showing the careful manner in which the campaign was arranged by William and his Generals.*

Two days after Count Solms wrote to the King referring to the particulars of the council. The Rapparees were, it appears by this letter, the troops who were designed by the enemy to ravage the country. Douglass was sent on towards the north, and Lanier and Kirk's men were appointed to conduct the operations towards Mullingar. The troops set out on the 13th September. Solms, fearing that they would be too late to help Douglass to resist the large divisions of the enemy which threatened his two flanks, had instructed Lanier and Kirk to send forward their Cavalry with all speed, as he had heard that Douglass was in danger near Roscrea.

In the same papers there is a letter from the Duke of Berwick to Count Solms, warning him that if it was true that he contemplated sending some prisoners to the Foreign Plantations, he would retaliate by sending his prisoners into the French galleys. This letter is from his camp at Banagher, and is dated 16th September 1690.*

It would seem, from a letter of Lord Nottingham's to Major-General Kirk, dated Whitehall, 1st November, that complaints had been made to the King of Kirk and the officers under his command having committed great disorders, in taking away cattle, stock, and goods of such Protestants and Papists "as have submitted to him peacefully under his government," requesting an explanation, and giving instructions that no occasion should be given for the like complaints in the future. Later in the month a letter was sent to the Lords Justices in Ireland, enclosing letters from Sir

* Home Office, King William's Chest, 1690, March, September, No. 7.

John Lanier and Kirk in reply, and ordering that the officers in question be examined on the matters in question.*

Sir John Lanier seems to have been reprimanded, for he writes on 12th November, in reply, that he "never meddled with any cattle belonging to Protestant or protected Papist, nor suffered anything of the kind to be done by anybody under his command."†

On the 4th October, Lord Ranelagh was commanded by the King to lay before the House of Commons an estimate of the forces of the Crown. The following report of his speech is taken from the War Office Establishment Book, 1688 to 1697.

The 4th Oct^r 1690.

The Hon^{ble} Member who spoke last hath told Your (?) that his Maj^y hath Commanded me to lay before you a List of the Land Forces, which he judges necessary to be maintained the next Year for the entire reducing of Ireland, the Securing of this Kingdom, and the Carrying on the Warr against France with Vigour.

The List I have here ready to Offer to you. It amounts in all to 69,636 private men, of which there is 8,702 Horse, 3,440 Dragoons, & 57,494 Foot (which Numbers make 5 Troops of Guards, 25 Regiments of Horse, 7 Reg^{ts} of Drag. and 67 Regim^{ts} of Foot. In all 99 Regiments besides 5 Troops of Guards, Our Independant Troop, and Six Independant Companys which are all now in his Maj^y's Pay and where the numbers allowd are defective, which in many Regiments they are, especially in those now in Ireland, his Maj^y will give Order for the Speedy Compleating of them.

The List will shew You the names of the Severall Regiments, the Numbers of Troops, Companys & men allowed to each and the Yearly Charge of each Regiment according to the Severall Establishments; Their Totall Charge for a Year (without Gen^l Officers, Garrisons, Traine, Hospitalis, & Contingencys) amounts to 1,910,560^{lb} 7s. 0d. And including those Severall Heads will likely amount to 2,300,000^{lb} a year or thereabouts.

How they will be distributed the next year, his Maj^y hath not yett Resolved, but this however he hath Commanded me to tell you. That he will keep no more of them in his Own Dominions, than what he shall judge absolutely necessary for their Security. And the rest he will Employ against the French King in the best way he Can. I am likewise Commanded by his Maj^y to tell You that by the best Computation We Can as yett make (having not the Muster Rolls of the Forces now in Ireland, and wanting some of Those relating to the Forces elsewhere) the arrears due to the said List, Computed to the 1st of this inst^t Octob^r, doth amount to 800,000^{lb} or thereabouts.

RANELAGH.

I told the Committee of the whole house, M^r Solicitor Gen^l being in the Chair, that his Ma^y had commanded me to acq^t them that by the most moderate Computac^{on} he Could make, he did believe the Charge of the five heads, mentioned in my first message, without any Certain Summ assigned to them viz. Generall Officers, Garrisons, Trayne, Hospitalis & Contingencys,

* King's Letter Book, Ireland, 1681-1695, pp. 201-14.

† Dom. State Papers, Ireland, 1685-1691, P.R.O.

would for the Ensuing Year amount to 384,000^{lb} which added to the totall Charge of the List deliv'd. in, the 9th of Octob. 90. would make the Totall for the Land forces 2,294,560^{lb}.

Which Summ after some Debate was accordingly Voted, and that added to the Summ Voted for the Navy (being 1,791,695^{lb}) made the Total for Navy & Army 4,086,255^{lb}.

The sum voted for the expenses of the regiment this year, including clothing, was 16,145*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*,* and the daily pay for the regiment in Ireland was as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Colonel; as colonel 12 <i>s.</i> , as captain 8 <i>s.</i> ...	1	0	0
Lieutenant-colonel; as lieutenant-colonel 7 <i>s.</i> , as captain 8 <i>s.</i> ...	0	15	0
Major; as major 5 <i>s.</i> , as captain 8 <i>s.</i> ...	0	13	0
Captain ...	0	8	0
Lieutenant ...	0	4	0
Ensign ...	0	3	0
Adjutant ...	0	4	0
Quarter-master ...	0	4	0
Surgeon ...	0	4	0
Surgeon's mate ...	0	2	6
Chaplain ...	0	6	8
Sergeant ...	0	1	6
Corporal ...	0	1	0
Private ...	0	0	8
Drummer ...	0	1	0

A document preserved in the Irish Papers gives copy of a warrant for payment to a Mr. Southmead, of Exeter, of 72*l.* for twenty soldiers' coats and cloaks, which is 3*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.* for each man. Colonel Talmash and Colonel Charles Godfrey received 2,000*l.* upon account of the clothing of the Army in Ireland.† There are mentions of warrants of clothing to the same officers. 2,500*l.* was sent to Ireland on the 29th March in farthings and halfpence "for the use of the Army." A curious account is given in the same papers of an agreement between the major and several captains of Foot in the three Huguenot regiments commanded by Colonels Melonière, Callimot, and Cambon, whereby the said captains were to allow the major the sum of eightpence a day each "for so long a time as he shall not have a commission or pay of a captain as is usual in other regiments of Foot."

In the other regiments all the field officers had, in addition to their command duties, to look after a company. The payment of levy money for each recruit raised at this time was 40*s.*

* Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1557-1696.

† War Office, Irish Pay and Contingencies, 1688-1750, Vol. 771, P.R.O.

The establishment of the regiment was the same as last year, twelve companies each, three sergeants, three captains, two drummers, and sixty private men in each; one grenadier company same as other twelve; thirteen companies, total effective 780 men.

The estimate of the total armed strength at the end of the year was:—

Horse, 23 regiments, 48 squadrons, 137 troops,	7,982	private soldiers.
Foot, 47 regiments, 50 battalions, 469 companies,	37,464	„ „
Dragoons, 5 regiments, 20 squadrons, 40 troops,	2,720	„ „

Total of private soldiers	...	48,166
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	£	s.	d.
Total annual charge	1,586,944	9	7
Contingencies more than by the establishment ...	400,000	0	0
	<u>£1,986,944</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>

A letter in King William's Chest from Charles Porter, dated from Dublin, 16th January next year, gives some interesting particulars of the campaign in Ireland. He informed his correspondent that Major-General Tettau had done considerable service in the south in his march, by way of Cork, into Kerry, destroying the forage in that county, "which was the granary of Limerick." Solms and the Duke of Wurtemberg were not able to go out of the county of Limerick, but they had wasted the country and covered Tettau from attack by the garrison of Limerick. Lanier and Kirk were well supplied with guns and all necessaries. Porter criticises the luke-warm action of Douglass and Lanier, "it was impossible for the general on the one hand, and Kirk on the other, to do anything if they had a mind to obstruct it." Later on Kirk comes in also for a little censure, "Kirk, we fear, has not been so active as he might have been in this business." Porter advocated strongly the Army of the Militia for service in the campaign, and for coping with the Rapparees.*

* Home Office, King William's Chest, 1690-1691, March, No. 8.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CAMPAIGN IN IRELAND UP TO THE CAPITULATION OF LIMERICK.

1691.

CONTENTS.—Tyrconnell arrives in Ireland with stores for the Irish—Tactics of the Rapparees—Skirmishes round Mullingar—Action at Mount Granard—Kirk takes Castles Cairn and Conway—Skirmish at Wyandstown—General St. Ruth sent by King James to command the Irish forces—Ginkel leaves Dublin for Mullingar—List of Troops—Lieutenant-General Douglass joins with his force—Siege and capture of Ballymore—Advance to Athlone—Capture of English town—Siege of Irish town—Capture of Irish town and pursuit of Irish Army to Aughrim—Battle of Aughrim and death of St. Ruth—Irish retire on Limerick—Ginkel advances on Galway—Capitulation of Galway—Advance on Limerick—Commencement of second siege of Limerick—Castles and forts surrounding secured—Siege works commenced—Crossing the Shannon into Clare—Fight at Thomond Bridge—Capitulation of Limerick—Anxiety of Ginkel to get capitulations signed—Arrival of French reinforcements—Arrival of Lords Justices and English Fleet—Difficulties between Sarsfield and Ginkel—Capitulation signed—Rejoicings in London.

THE opening event of this year was the return of Tyrconnell from France about the 14th January, with three frigates and nine vessels, and bringing money, stores, arms, and ammunition. The Irish at the end of last year had held a great council of war, and had sent envoys to France, praying for more aid, both in men and money, they were therefore woefully disappointed at the small sum, 8,000*l.*, which Tyrconnell brought with him on his arrival. He had brought from James an earl's coronet for the gallant Sarsfield, who was henceforth to be known as the Earl of Lucan.

The Irish Franc Tireurs, "Rapparees," had become a sensible factor in the fight between the forces of William and James, and by their predatory warfare had inflicted great losses on the English troops. These men were composed not only of armed civilians, but, according to some authorities, the generals of James's

Army let loose a great part of the troops to manage for themselves and to harass the enemy by all means in their power. If caught they pleaded that they were soldiers by exhibiting passes which had been given to them with the name of the regiment to which they belonged, and by these means they claimed to be dealt with as soldiers, and not as lawless Rapparees.*

The principal stronghold of the Rapparees was in the Bog of Allan, a place about 12 miles from Dublin, though they overran the country in every part where damage could be done to the allies. The admitted head of this most unmanageable army of irregulars was the famous Baldeary O'Donnell, who called himself "The O'Donnell," and whose ancestor had lost his position and estates in Ireland by plotting against James the First. This man, hearing that the Irish were in arms for their independence, left his adopted country, Spain, and put himself at the head of the Rapparee irregulars, which were reputed to number some 7,000 or 8,000 men.

King James had no real help from these men; they embarrassed the action of his troops quite as much as they did the English, and by destroying the subsistence in the country, and not being in concert and connexion with their avowed friends, delayed and upset the plans formed by the generals for concerted action.

The Lords Justices of Ireland wrote on the 23rd January a strong remonstrance to Lord Sydney against the reported disbandment of several regiments of Horse and Foot. They represented that it would be dangerous to reduce the Army at all, and that the 16,000 men now before Limerick were insufficient for the siege. They also reminded his Lordship that the last siege failed for want of sufficient number of men to occupy both sides of the river; and called attention to the increasing power of the Rapparees.

A declaration from Tyrconnell, dated from Limerick in January, offers every trooper or dragoon who quits the service of the "Prince of Orange," and repairs to Limerick, Athlone, Bannagher, Sligo, or Galway, "two pistoles of gold or silver, and every foot soldier a pistole in like coin."†

A letter of Lord Coningsby, dated 17th February, gives interesting particulars of the attempt of the Irish to make a strong fortified place of Ballymore. He urged that it would be impossible for the troops to occupy Mullingar as a ruse against

* Storey's continuation, p. 50.

† Dom. State Papers, Ireland, 1685-1691.

Athlone, unless Ballymore was taken, and that the English would have to evacuate Streamstown, Maheere and Meerscourt, leaving Mullingar open to attack. He complains that "though all this is evident it is impossible to persuade the general officers," Kirk especially, "to go about this matter," and concludes by recommending a change of general officers. Lord Sydney, writing about the state of affairs on the 3rd March, endorses the conclusions of Lord Coningsby as to a change of some of the general officers being necessary, "whether we have success or not in the expedition."

An estimate of the forces in Ireland was given on the 29th January as follows:—

Horse, 19 regiments, 99 troops, 40 squadrons	5,819 private soldiers.
Foot, 36 regiments, 409 companies, 36 bat-	
talions	27,250 " "
Dragoons, 5 regiments, 40 troops, 20 squad-	
rons	2,720 " "
Total	<u>35,789</u>

The total cost, including the garrisons, was said to be 1,162,516*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.*

Lord Carmarthen wrote several letters to the King in February with reference to the serious question as to who should command the Army in the coming campaign, and as to the recruits necessary for the vigorous prosecution of the war. He complains in one of his letters of the inattention of the officers to the recruiting of their regiments, and writes that it is imperative that the command of the forces should be soon settled, or "all things that relate to it will be but weakly performed."

In King William's papers there is a letter from Marlborough informing the King what had been done concerning the recruits. In this letter, dated 17th February, he complains bitterly about the opposition he receives from the Lord President. "I am tired of my life," he writes, "with the unreasonable way of proceeding of (the) Lord President," who, he writes, does what he thinks fit to alter the arrangements made by him. The prejudice which the Lord President has taken against him makes him "incapable of doing that service which I do with all my heart and soul make to do, for I do with much truth wish both your person and government to prosper." On the 24th he writes that he hopes all the recruits and stores will be on board in two days. "Nothing can be done in Ireland till they come." Lord Godolphin, he says, "continues very obstinate." Marlborough seems not to have followed up his victories in Ireland, nor to have shown

promise of the later grand achievements of his life on the continent of Europe.

Lord Carmarthen wrote again to the King, on 27th February, that he believed all was being done that was possible to send provisions to Ireland, but "all credit being lost, and nothing to be bought but with ready money, the want of that delays things very much." Lord Sidney, writing to the King in March, regretted to hear of the delay in his coming to Ireland, "for we want you every minute, and for the affairs of Ireland more than can be expressed."

Lord Sidney strongly urged upon the King the employment of Mackay in Ireland, who he seemed to think was the best man for the service. "The reduction of Ireland," he writes, "is of the greatest importance in the world to you, and these gentlemen that are there I am sure will never do it." *

In the letters of Lord Godolphin to the King in March and April, with reference to the affairs of Ireland, he advises him of money sent to Ireland, 400,000*l.* and 17,500*l.*, the first sum being for bread and clothing, and the latter for four months' pay to all the officers of the Army. For the remainder of the pay due to them, he opines that they will be glad to make assignments of debentures on the forfeited lands.

Several minor actions took place in the spring before the real campaign opened.

The General-in-Chief, from the movements of the Irish, imagined that they intended to attack Mullingar, the principal garrison and magazine of the forces of William in that side of the country. It was soon seen, however, as already noted, that it was their intention to cover Athlone by the erection of a strong fort at Ballymore.

On the 8th February Ginkel writes home that the enemy were not content with fortifying Ballymore, but had taken several "Chateaux" near Mullingar, and thereby the garrisons of Meerscourt and Streamstown were surrounded. He further writes that it was a great fault to have left important towns unoccupied (if they were not destroyed) so near Mullingar. The next day he writes from his head-quarters at Kilkenny that the enemy ought not to be allowed to fix themselves in Ballymore, and that he is resolved to march all the troops he can to drive them out and to occupy that place. The rendezvous was fixed for the 16th at

* Home Office, King William's Chest, 1690, Sept. 1690/1, March, No. 8.

Tecraghan.* On Thursday evening he was to be in Dub'in to join the expedition, "since I apprehend that neither Sir John Lanier nor General Major Kerck (Kirk) are at present in a condition to join it." On the 20th he ordered that a party, consisting of twenty-six of Schomberg's Horse, twenty-six of Kirk's regiment, and thirty Militia, were to form a convoy for stores he was sending from Dublin towards Ballymore.

About this time, Major-General Kirk having received information that a party of the Irish were on the march, took a detachment of the Queen's out against them. A smart little action took place, in which the Irish lost sixteen men killed and three officers made prisoners, no casualties being mentioned on the side of the "Queen's." The officers captured included Colonel Purcell, Captain Callagan, and another.†

On the 25th Ginkel, who had arrived at Mullingar, sent Colonel Goor to make a reconnaissance towards Ballymore. He reported that the rains had only made the place stronger. The enemy had placed a redoubt at the end of it, and entrenched themselves. The same day Ginkel left camp with Sir John Lanier and a considerable body of Horse and Foot for Streamstown, intending an attack on Ballymore. They rested the night at Streamstown. Early in the morning, resuming their march, they met the enemy in considerable force (about 2,300 men under the command of Colonel Clifford) near Mount Granard.‡ The outposts of the enemy were driven up into a pass about four miles beyond Streamstown. Upon a party of Colonel Earl's regiment advancing, they at once quitted the pass pursued by the Horse and Dragoons towards Mount Granard, where the main body of the Irish was strongly posted. The position was on the side of the hill, behind a very defensible ditch, with a pallisado'd wall. The Irish were soon driven out, and retired towards Athlone. The advanced party, commanded by Colonel Wolseley, consisting of ten of Lord Oxford's Horse, twelve of Sir John Lanier's, and a party of Mounted Infantry, "four men out of each company in Major-General Kirk's regiment, mounted on horseback and commanded by Lieutenant Monk, who always did Dragoon service," also a party of Colonel St. John's Foot, under Captain Worth, were

* Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, p. 319. This was the house of a gentleman, Van Homrig, whom Ginkel calls Hummery, and who was the father of Dean Swift's Vanessa.

† London Gazette, Dublin, 23rd February.

‡ Written by Ginkel, "Motte," "Gronaux," and in Cannon's History of the Queen's, p. 21, Moat of Grenogue, also in Storey's continuation, p. 57, Moat of Grenogue.

soon in hot pursuit. They drove the Cavalry to within about a mile of the town of Athlone, killing many of them and capturing many of their horses, the Foot escaping in the bog. The Irish lost about 200 men in this skirmish, all their equipage and baggage, and many horses and arms. Ginkel then advanced to Ballymore, but finding the place too strong to take by assault without a regular investment, he returned with his forces to Mullingar.

General Kirk, who followed the day after with his regiment, attacked Cairn Castle. This place had been surprised and captured by a party of Irish troops from Ballymore, and the garrison put to the sword under circumstances of great brutality. Kirk found on his arrival that his cannon was too small to make a breach in the walls, so he was obliged to undermine before the garrison would surrender. In retaliation for the massacre of the garrison of Cairn Castle he hanged the governor on the castle walls. On his way back to join the Army he invested and took Castle Conway. On the return to camp the men were sent to their winter quarters, and the general went on to Dublin to make arrangements for the coming campaign.* The regiment about this time was a little increased in strength by the absorption of a company of Fusiliers, about which there had been some correspondence.†

On March 18/28 Ginkel was again at Kilkenny to consult the Duke of Wurtemberg and Scravemoor about the opening of the campaign. The Rapparees were again causing much trouble. The severest measures were, therefore, adopted against them whenever they were caught. During this month, April, Ginkel was constantly on the move, visiting the different places where troops were forming up. April 8/18 he was at Russ? the day before at Waterford and Dungannon, and the next week in Dublin. Storey's account of the minor events of these months are full of captures and executions of Rapparees, and accounts of the ill-treatment of the allied soldiers when caught by the Rapparees.

In the early part of May Lieutenant Shales, of Kirk's regiment, in command of a small party of the regiment and Lanier's Horse, killed eleven of them in a skirmish near Wyandstown.

On the 18th May Ginkel went to Mullingar to inspect the town, the stores of provisions, and also ammunition which was constantly

* Storey's continuation, p. 57, gives a description of a "toun" that the Irish retired through in this skirmish at Mount Granard, which was protected with ditch and palisadoes, but Ginkel's letter in the Hist. MSS. makes no mention of it, and it seems to be an error in description on the part of Storey.

† State Papers, Ireland, 1685-1691, No. 367, P.R.O.

being augmented. Recruits, both of Horse and Foot, were also coming in daily. Belturbet was being stored for the supply of the northern forces.

A letter was sent on the 29th April from Lord Sydney to the Lords Justices and Baron de Ginkel and also one to Kirk, informing them that the King desired to send Lieutenant-General Douglass and Major-General Kirk to "serve this next campaign in Flanders," and that arrangements were to be made for them to come away with the first opportunity.*

On the 8th May the Irish received succour from France, a French Fleet having arrived at Limerick bringing arms, clothes, and ammunition. With the Fleet King James had sent a French officer of renown, General St. Ruth, who was to take command of the Irish Army in the approaching campaign, as it was thought that the jealousy between Tyrconnell and Sarsfield was likely to prejudice the success of the Army. With St. Ruth came also ten French Lieutenant-Generals (one of them Lieutenant-General D'Usone), 106 subaltern officers, 150 cadets ? (cadets), 320 English and Scotch gentlemen, twenty-four surgeons, 180 bricklayers and masons, two bombardiers, eighteen gunners, two engineers, twenty-six carpenters, eighteen brass and iron cannons, six mortars, 12,000 horse-shoes, 6,000 bridles and saddles, 2,000 firearms, 20,000 suits of clothes for soldiers, including shoes and stockings, and large stores of wheat, oats, hay, many tents and powder, bullet, match, and ammunition.†

Tyrconnell had been doing his best to clothe his soldiers with the means at his command, but when we read that he had only, found means "with great difficulty to get two pair of broaques, a pair of breeches, and a pair of stockings for each Foot souldier which with the coats and shirts they expected from France, would cover them at least," it may give some little idea of his difficulties and his soldiers' privations.‡

By the end of the month the train of Artillery was on the march from Dublin to Mullingar, "being such a one as never had been seen before in that kingdom."§

On the 30th the general left Dublin for Mullingar to commence operations.

* King's Letter Book, Ireland, 1681-1695, pp. 115, 116.

† Luttrell's Diary, Vol. II., p. 234.

‡ Clark's Life of James II., Vol. II., p. 451.

§ Storey's continuation, p. 80.

He found the following regiments there :—

HORSE.

Sir John Lanier's Regiment.
 Brigadier Villier's ,,
 Colonel Langston's ,,
 Colonel Rydesel's ,,
 Colonel Roucour's ,,
 Colonel Monopovillon's ,,
 And Colonel Leveson's Dragoons.

FOOT.

Major-General Kirk's Regiment.
 Lord Meath's ,,
 Lord Lisburn's ,,
 Lord Cutt's ,,
 Colonel Foulk's ,,
 Colonel Brewer's ,,
 Colonel Earl's ,,
 And Lord George Hamilton's Regiment.

"The soldiers every day in one regiment or another began to appear fine in their new clothes."*

Kirk about this time was ordered, with Lieutenant-General Douglass, by the King to leave Ireland and serve in the war in Flanders. The letter from Lord Sydney acquainting him with this is dated 30th April. In this letter Lord Sydney informed him that he had made the necessary arrangements with the Lords Justices and with Ginkel.†

Ginkel, finding, as he thought, that there was danger of the Irish, who were now some 20,000 strong, on their march towards Athlone, seizing the great road from there to Dublin, sent an express to the Duke of Wurtemberg on the 7th, ordering him to join the Army on its march towards Athlone.

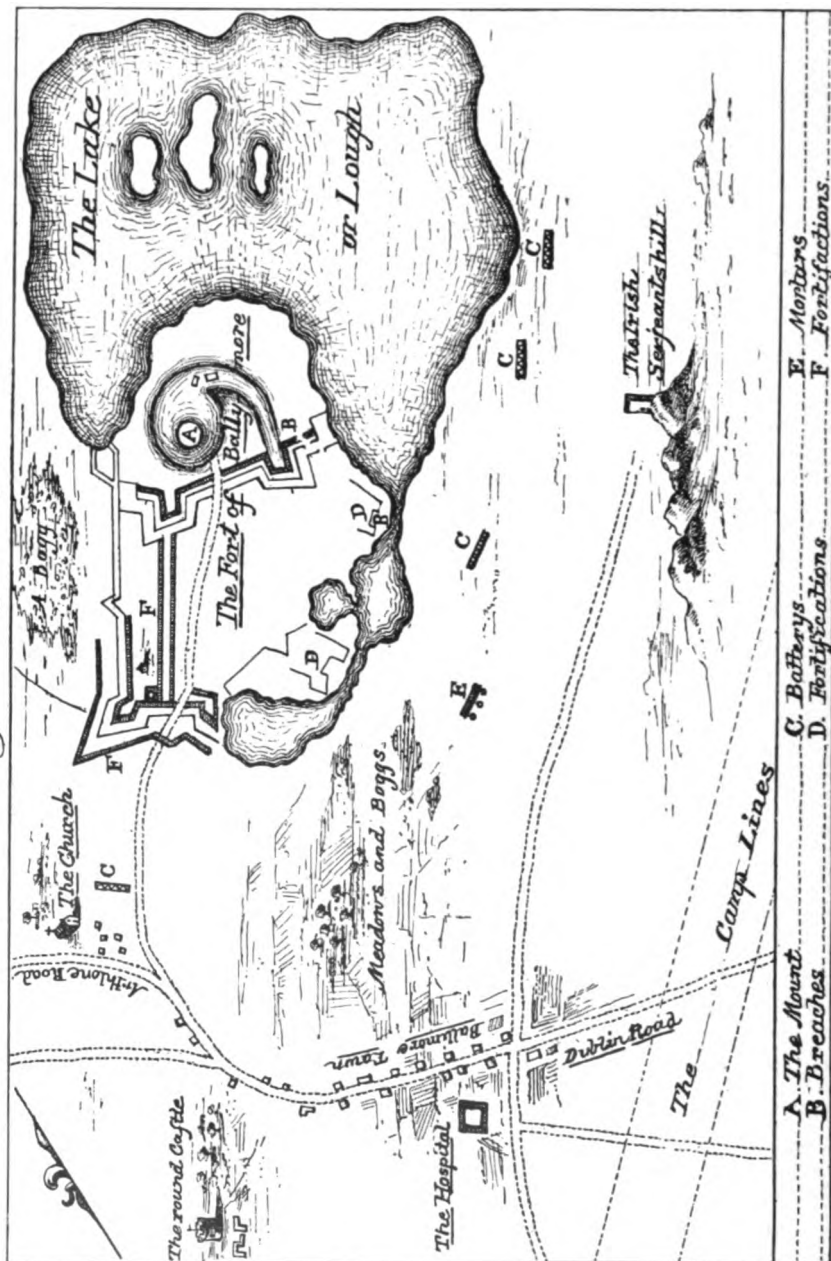
Major-Generals Ruvigny and Mackay (the latter having arrived with the Scottish troops) had arrived at Mullingar, with another Tangier friend, Sir Martin Beckman, chief engineer officer.

A letter was sent on the 9th May from Porter to Lord Nottingham, giving particulars of the industrious care Ginkel was taking to put "everything in the next forwardness"; the writer, however, seemed to think that Major-Generals Kirk and Lacher (Lanier?), being ordered home, would obstruct the operations unless other general officers were put in their places. In this same letter

* Storey's continuation, p. 82.

† King's Letter Book (Ireland), 1581-1693, Vol. I.

Ballymore. June 1691.



From Story's History of the War in Ireland, 287. A. S. B. M.

St. John's, N. B.

Nov. 10, 1891

Dear Sir,
I have the honor to acknowledge
the receipt of your letter of the 9th inst.

and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

Wm. H. Murray,
Secretary of the
Board of Education.

Very truly,
Yours,
Wm. H. Murray.

Enclosed for you are
three copies of the
report of the
Board of Education
for the year 1890-91.
I am, Sir, very
respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
Wm. H. Murray.

I am, Sir, very
respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
Wm. H. Murray.

I am, Sir, very
respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
Wm. H. Murray.

I am, Sir, very
respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
Wm. H. Murray.

I am, Sir, very
respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
Wm. H. Murray.

81

100,000

it appears that the Queen's regiment was 150 short of its establishment.*

On the 6th the Army began its march from Mullingar to Rathandra, where they encamped. Just before arriving Lieutenant-General Douglass joined them with the following force :—

HORSE.

Colonel Wolsely's Regiment.
Colonel Wynn's (or Gwinn's) Dragoons.
Sir Albert Cunningham's "

FOOT.

Lieutenant-General Douglass' Regiment.
Brigadier Stuart's "
Sir Henry Bellasis' "
Colonel Tiffin's "
Colonel St. John's "
Colonel Gustavous Hamilton's "
Colonel Herbert's "
And Colonel Creighton's "

The next day the united forces marched to Ballymore. By noon the place was completely invested, and the enemy driven into their works.

The village and fort of Ballymore, as will be seen from the plan, was well adapted for defence. Had it been properly armed with guns and resolutely held by the garrison it ought to have detained William's forces some time there. As soon as Ginkel arrived he summoned the governor, Mylo Burke (or, as he is called in another place, Ulick Burke) to surrender. Burke had within the fort and in the village 780 soldiers, 260 Rapparees, with 51 officers, and a quantity of stores. The governor refused to listen to the word "surrender," so the guns were at once put into position for attack. An outlying post, a castle about a quarter of a mile from the fort, was taken early in the operations. By 10 p.m. four batteries were raised, one mounting six guns, two others four each; another carried four mortars. On Monday the 8th, at sunrise, the batteries opened fire on the fort, shortly after the general again summoned the fort to surrender, offering, if the surrender was made in two hours, to give the governor and garrison their lives on condition of their rendering themselves prisoners of war. If the place was not given up in that time no quarter was to be given. The women and children were given

* State Papers (Ireland), 1685-1691, No. 367.

leave to go out at once. The governor, however, refusing to surrender except with the honours of war, the firing recommenced, with such fury that at noon the enemy desired a parley. The general, however, would take no notice, and continued the siege. Very soon two breaches were made on the walls. Ginkel then ordered up some boats he had brought with him from Mullingar that had been prepared for last year's work on the Shannon, and launched them on the lake, filling them with armed men in preparation for a general assault. The governor, seeing the vigour of the assault, and not having the heart to continue the defence with the crowds of women and children in the place, hung out the white flag, "begging quarter for God's sake." The guns were then ordered to cease firing, and the Earl, with his regiment, marched over the breach into the fort.

A letter* in the papers of Archbishop King in the Historical MSS. Second Report from Wm. Hansard to the Archbishop gives a good account of the day's work at Ballymore. The writer says that it was universally concluded "by our general officers that the enemy would desert Ballymore"; but on the Sunday that they invested the place they opened fire with their few guns and showed fight. About noon the garrison got terribly scared by the launching of the four boats on the Lough and wanted to parley, but having before refused the terms offered, the siege went on until evening, when their outworks were almost levelled. When the place capitulated they found the garrison had lost some 50 or 60 men. "One Bourk, their gunner, had his head shot off." In his postscript he writes, "All the prisoners positively affirm y^t Sarsfield will give us battle; but I suppose he will scarce run y^t hassard. However, I am persuaded he designs to use his utmost endeav^{rs} to stop on passing the Shannon."

The next day, 9th June, the garrison were sent under escort to Kilcock, at which place they were to be taken over by the Dublin Militia and sent on to Dublin.

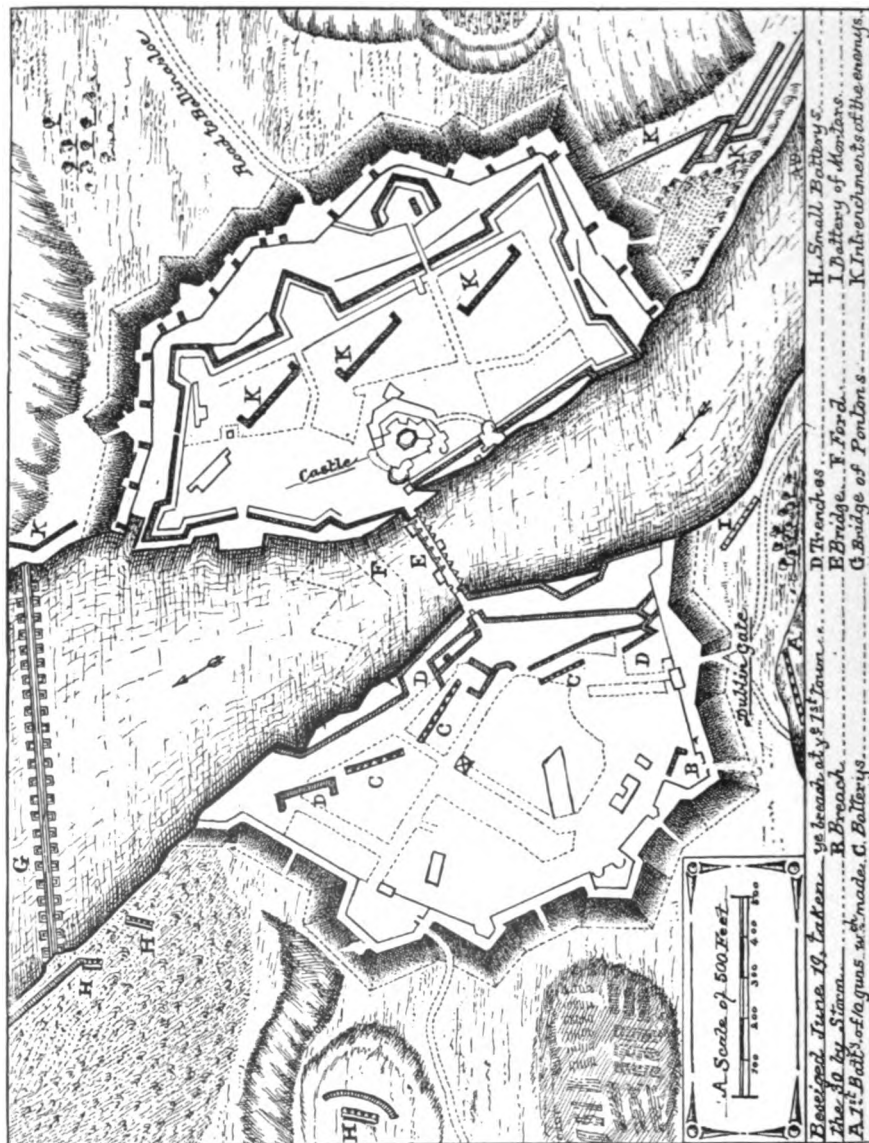
General Ginkel, as soon as he was in possession, set to work to repair the breaches and to better fortify the place, which, having done, he marched on the 18/28 from Ballymore to Balliburne Pass on the way to Athlone, leaving Lieutenant-Colonel Toby Purcell governor at Ballymore, with four companies of Douglass' regiment.

On 16/26 he wrote a long letter,† complaining that the pontoons he required for the siege of Athlone had not arrived, and giving

* Historical MSS. Commission, Second Report, pp. 37-28.

† Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, Part I., p. 320.

ATHLONE. June 1691.





minute instructions as to the conduct of operations in other parts of Ireland.

At Ballibourne, Ginkle was joined by the Duke of Wurtemberg and Count Nassau, with the Dutch and Danish troops, about 7,000, which brought the strength of his forces to about 18,000 men.*

A mounted company was formed out of the Queen's regiment early in the year, four selected men being taken out of each company. This mounted company was commanded by Lieutenant Monk, an officer in the regiment, and was commonly known as Monk's Dragoons, being armed and equipped something after the manner of a dragoon. "They greatly distinguished themselves in different skirmishes with the Irish." Cannon states that the Grenadier company was also mounted.†

Early in the morning of the 19th June, the Army was in movement, and by 9 a.m. had driven in the outposts of the enemy, under the walls of the English part of Athlone. The general had, the day before, rode forward with a small party to reconnoitre the enemy's position. He found St. Ruth encamped in a bog behind Athlone, and from his position he could see their tents, but could not judge of the size of the camp, because of the intervening hills.‡ It was Ginkle's intention, had the pontoons he had sent for been there, to have pushed at once over the river, but failing this, he resolved to beat down the works by the river, and endeavour by means of the ford and a bridge or two to pass over.§

Having erected his batteries, and made a breach in the walls of the English town near Dublin Gate, arrangements were made on the 20th, to storm and carry that part of the work. At 5 p.m. the advanced party, consisting of the following detachments, were ordered to advance:—

First.—One Lieutenant, 1 Sergeant, and 30 Granadiers, to enter the breach and go to the right to cut off the enemy from passing the bridge.

Second.—One Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 2 Sergeants, and 50 men in support.

Third.—Lieutenant-Colonel, 3 Captains, 5 Lieutenants, 5 Sergeants and 120 Granadiers reserve. Both support and reserve to follow the advanced party to the right.

Fourth.—Major, 2 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 4 Sergeants, and 120 Granadiers, to enter the breach, and clear the ramparts to the left.

* Storey's continuation, p. 94.

† Cannon, 2nd Foot, p. 20.

‡ Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, Part I., p. 320.

§ Ibid.

Following these were 50 workmen, who, after entering the breach, were to divide into two parties and follow the right and left detachments. They were armed with hatchets, pickaxes, shovels, and hammers. Their orders were to open all the gates of the city, to let in the whole Horse and Foot, which were to advance in the following order :—

Colonel Stuart's regiment which was to go to the right, with Colonel Beaver's regiment in support.

Prince Frederick's Regiment to go to the left, with Count Nassau's regiment in support.

200 men carrying fascines and tools.

The whole of the advancing party was to be under the command of Major-General Mackay and Brigadiers Stuart and Wittenghoff.

The forlorn hope party, gallantly led by Trench, a lieutenant of Colonel Cannon's regiment, advanced under cover of some rising ground to within one hundred and fifty yards of the breach, when they rushed across the plain, followed quickly by the support and the reserve. The lieutenant was the first in the breach. He was at once shot down; not, however, before he had by his dash and example, got his party well into the breach. These were followed up quickly by the other parties, and the Irish, being heavily galled by the hand grenades of the English, soon began to give way, retreating towards the bridge. The enemy were, however, hard on their heels, and so fast were the retreating Irish followed up, that the bridge soon became a solid mass of struggling humanity; many were crushed to death, others were forced over the sides of the bridge, and either drowned, or killed by the fall on the approaches. Amongst those who were forced over the bridge, was Lieutenant-Colonel Lutterell. This poor fellow lay for two days under the bridge, sorely bruised and unable to move, until found by the English and carried into their quarters.* As soon as Ginkel was in possession of the English portion of the town, he covered the foot of the bridge with works, and set to work at once to erect batteries in the town.

The loss in the assault was small, about twenty killed and forty wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Goor (so often mentioned in Ginkel's letters) and Brigadier Stuart were wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Kirk, of Millar's regiment, was killed by a shot while watching the action from the side of a hill.

From the 21st to the 30th June, a brisk cannonade was kept up on the town, particular attention being given to the castle, and the breast works covering the bridge on the Irish side. The

* Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, Part I., p. 321.

enemy raised batteries on their side of the bridge, and resisted, by every means in their power, our efforts to gain possession of it.

On the 23rd, the long desired boats, floats, and other materials for a bridge arrived, and with them Colonel Beverley's and Lord Oxford's regiments.

Desperate efforts were daily made to repair the broken arches of the bridge, and as desperate attempts on the part of the Irish to prevent it.

By the 26th the English had managed to repair one of the broken arches, and the next day, in the evening, they destroyed the breast work the enemy had erected on the other side of the last broken arch of the bridge. This enabled them, by working hard all the night, to get beams across the gap. They were just finishing planking it, when day broke (Sunday, the 28th). The Irish, seeing the imminent danger of their position, at once sent "a sergeant and ten bold Scots in armour," out of Brigadier Maxwell's regiment, to destroy the works. Every man of this gallant little party was killed, but another party of the same strength rushed in, and succeeded in throwing down the planks and beams, in spite of the hail of shot from the English, only two of this last party managing to escape. The general, after this, resolved to carry on the work by a close gallery on the bridge. That afternoon a council of war was held, when it was resolved that an attempt should be made to pass the Shannon in three places. One party was to storm the bridge, another was to attempt to ford the river (where it was suspected to be fordable, about one hundred and fifty feet above the bridge), and a third party was to cross the river over the pontoon bridge, which had in the meantime been prepared for erection. The river was proved to be fordable at the place suspected, by forcing the Danish soldiers who had been condemned to death to try it (the Irish, supposing them to be deserters, not firing at them till too late). St. Ruth was informed by deserters of the designs of the English, and marched up in force into the town to resist the attack.

The orders given by Ginkel during the night for the assault (which was to be under the command of Major-General Mackay), was as follows:—Forty-three grenadiers, eighty-three private men, three captains and four lieutenants, two ensigns and seven sergeants out of each regiment were to be ready by 6 a.m. the following morning under the walls of the town. Each man was to carry fifteen rounds and was to have a green bough in his hat. That night the password was "Kilkenny."

The attack so carefully planned was frustrated by the delay which occurred in fixing the pontoon bridge, and by the Irish

Grenadiers succeeding in setting fire to the English breastwork. The fire and smoke driving into the faces of the besiegers, forced them back. The English, however, managed to save the remainder of the bridge works by quickly throwing up another breastwork, and it being by this time 12 o'clock, the general saw it was impossible, without a great loss of life, to force the passage. He therefore ordered the other detachments, which had been waiting in suspense for some hours, back into camp. The French General St. Ruth perceiving that the attack had failed, ordered his Army back to camp, "and to show them how satisfied he was in the security of Athlone, gave all the gentlemen and ladies an entertainment in his camp."* The house where this entertainment was given was, in 1839, still standing, and was at some distance from the town. The dancing was kept up nearly all night, and when the officers retired to rest they felt "as happily secure as if they had been in Paris."†

On the 30th Ginkel called another council of war to consult as to what had best now be done, either they must at once risk all in the hazard of a new attempt or they must raise the siege. The Army were getting short of forage, and the non-success of their arms in the last attempt had discouraged the men, while it had raised the spirits of the Irish to a dangerous extent. A retreat would leave Dublin open to attack, and would expose the stores and provisions of the various garrisons in rear to capture. After considerable discussion, it was at last resolved that the safest plan would be to risk an assault. Preparations were at once made for it. To deceive the enemy, some cannons and troops had been retired out of the trenches, but only in places where they might be easily perceived by the enemy, who were thus lulled into a fatal security.

A most fortunate circumstance occurred to favour the designs of Ginkel. Two officers deserted and came over to the English camp, bringing information that the town was left in charge of three of the most indifferent of the Irish regiments, the rest being all secure in camp in rear of the town. St. Ruth felt perfectly sure that, consequent on the destruction of the works on the bridge, no fresh attempt would be made. He also firmly believed that the place defended by himself was impregnable.

In order that the enemy might be still further off their guard, it was resolved to make the attack at the time for relieving guard

* Harris's Life of William III., Vol. III., p. 154.

† Narratives illustrative of the Contests in Ireland in 1641 and 1690, Croker, 1841. Camden Society, p. 133, Notes.

in the evening. Accordingly, at the agreed on signal (all the same detachments as had been detailed for the attack the day before being ready), the tolling of the church bell, the forlorn hope, consisting of Captain Sandys, of General Mackay's regiment, with sixty of his Grenadiers twenty abreast, "all in armour," at six minutes past six, took the river at the ford, followed closely by another detachment of Grenadiers and supported by six battalions of Foot. They passed quickly over, and in gallant style forced the passage, turning to the right they fought their way to the foot of the bridge on the Irish side, and, quickly laying planks across the broken arch so long disputed, in an incredibly short space (less than half an hour) the whole of the storming party were in the town and the Irish in full retreat. The attack was greatly helped by the Artillery, which poured a perfect hail of shot on the garrison.

The first express which reached St. Ruth informing that the British were passing the river found him dressing for a shooting excursion. He refused to believe the news, and, though urged to take instant measures, replied carelessly, he would give a "thousand livres to hear that the English durst attempt to pass." Sarsfield, who heard the boast, retorted gruffly, "Spare your money, and mind your business, for I know that no enterprise is too difficult for British courage to attempt."* When St. Ruth was convinced that the attack was really being made, and that the English were entering the town, he sent with all speed parties of Horse and Foot to the succour of the garrison, but they only arrived in time to cover the retreat, though for a time it seemed as if the newly arrived Irish troops would regain the town. The plans had, however, been so well laid by Ginkel, and the guns and supports followed so quickly into the town, that St. Ruth soon saw that the place was lost. He was the more annoyed at the disaster as he had weakly given way to the governor of the town, who, when St. Ruth had desired to throw down some of the walls between his camp and the town in order to be able quickly to march his battalions in, was told that it was their business "to defend not to demolish fortresses,"† thus, when the town came into the possession of the enemy they were protected by the defences of the Irish.

* Harris's Life of William III., Vol. III., p. 157, and Narratives Illustrative of the Contests in Ireland in 1641 and 1690, p. 133. Croker, London, 1841. Camden Society.

† Clark's Life of James II., Vol. II., p. 455.

The advanced party detached by Ginkel for the capture of Athlone consisted of about 2,000 men selected from all the regiments in camp, so that all participated in the honour of the victory. Major-General Mackay was in command, with Major-General Tetteau, the Prince of Hesse, and Brigadier Melonière to assist. Major-General Talmash went as a volunteer with a party of the Grenadiers, commanded by Colonel Gustavous Hamilton.

The victors found a quantity of ammunition and stores in the town. The loss on the part of the English was wonderfully small, considering the desperate nature of the assault, being only 12 men killed and about 30 wounded, five officers were wounded, which included a lieutenant-colonel named Columbine.

The enemy were reported to have lost 500, and to have sustained a total loss during the siege of over 1,200 men. They lost in officers Colonels O'Gara, Richard Grace (who defended the town when besieged the year before by Lieutenant-General Douglass), Oge, and Macmahon, two MacGenness and several others. Major-General Maxwell, a French Adjutant-General, four other officers, and about 60 private men were taken prisoners.

The capture of Athlone was a gallant affair. Cannon wrote of it, "Never was a more desperate service, nor was ever exploit performed with more valour and intrepidity,"* in another place it is said, "It would be difficult for history to parallel so brave an enterprise as this, in which 3,000 men attacked a fortified town across a rapid river in the face of a numerous army, who by their entrenchments were master of all the fords."† But these praises are a little too high (though it was a gallant fight and well executed), when we remember that through the carelessness and stupidity of St. Ruth only three weak and irresolute Irish regiments (some say only two regiments) were left in the town to oppose the attack, and these regiments were, it is said, composed of a large proportion of new recruits. The attack having been determined to be made in any case, it was a most fortunate thing that the factor of resistance was so small, the losses also being few from the feebleness of the defence.

General Ginkel's letters to Lord Conigsbury (who had been made a Peer after the Boyne, and who had charge of the commissariat of the forces in Ireland), preserved amongst Lord de Ros's manuscript give interesting particulars of the events of this time. His letters when at Athlone show him to be most painstaking and careful in

* Cannon's History of 2nd Queen's, p. 21.

† Harris's Life of William III., Vol. III., p. 156.

his arrangements, not only in the actions he himself conducted, but in the general conduct of the war, and which he so ably brought to a close with the fall of Limerick.

Immediately after the fall of Athlone, which was a serious blow to the Irish and also to the reputation of the French General, the Army retreated to Ballinasloe, St. Ruth striking his camp the same day the English captured Athlone. Resting one night about a mile from his former camp, he made haste to pass the River Suck, in order to get the river between him and his foe. Resting three days he looked about for a good spot where he could wait and give his enemy battle. It is said he had made up his mind to wipe out the disgrace of the loss of Athlone or die. At last he made choice of the famous position at Aughrim, his choice conclusively showing that he had well studied the profession of a soldier, and was qualified to command. His lines, extending for about two miles, were posted on the side of a hill in front of which was an almost impassable bog. His right and left wing covered two passes across the bog, both narrow and easily defensible. That on the right, by which only cavalry could pass, was further strengthened by Aughrim Castle and its grounds. His centre was strongly posted on the front of the hill—on which were two old Danish forts—sheltered behind enclosures, while a free communication could be maintained along his whole lines.

While the English was engaged in clearing the streets and repairing the trenches in the walls of Athlone, careful reconnaissances were made of the enemy's camp. On the 4th July a small party consisting of 20 Horse and 10 of the men from the Grenadier Company of the Queen's mounted, were sent out for this duty. The party was guided by one Higgins, a priest who had become a Protestant. By some means they fell into an ambush of 400 of the enemy's horse, who had posted themselves in the woods at Canoult.

Though outnumbered by more than thirteen to one they held on to a bridge with the greatest gallantry, and only gave way after fifteen were killed (half their number), the rest—except four who fell into the hands of the enemy—escaping. Higgins the guide was badly wounded, but escaped with the remnant of the gallant little party. Ginkel stayed at Athlone until he had repaired the town, buried the dead, and put the place in a posture of defence.

On the 10th July Ginkel left Athlone, leaving Colonel Lloyd as governor with his own and Lieutenant-General Douglass' regiment. He had ordered up from Dublin and Mullingar more stores of ammunition, so much had been expended on the siege of Athlone,

AUGHRIM.

THE LINE OF BATTLE. July. 12. 1691.

Lieut. General Ginkel. The Duke of Wirtemberg.		Lieut. Genl. Scrammore. Brigadeer Villers.	
Major Genl. La Forreft.	Major General Fetteau.	Leveson.	First Line
Brigadeer Eppinger.	Brigadeer La Meloniere.	Winn.	Winn.
La Forreft.	La Meloneire.	Oxford.	Oxford.
Schefted.	Du Cambon.	Langston.	Langston.
Donep.	Bolcaftell.	Ruvigny.	Ruvigny.
Boncour.	Geben.	Villers.	Villers.
Konponuillan.	Danish.	y ^e Right Wing	y ^e Right Wing
Eppinger.	Danish.	Kirk.	Kirk.
Major Genl. La Forreft.	Major Genl. La Forreft.	Major Genl. Ruvigny.	Major Genl. Ruvigny.
Brigadeer Schack.	Brigadeer Schack.	Brigadeer Leveson.	Brigadeer Leveson.
Schack.	Schack.	Cuninghame.	Cuninghame.
Nienheuse.	Nienheuse.	Winn.	Winn.
Zulytein.	Zulytein.	Lancin.	Lancin.
Recdesfell.	Recdesfell.	Woolfley.	Woolfley.
Ginckell.	Ginckell.	Byerley.	Byerley.
Eppinger.	Eppinger.	Stuart.	Stuart.
		Earle.	Earle.
		Tiffin.	Tiffin.
		St Johnes.	St Johnes.
		Zybarne.	Zybarne.
		Meath.	Meath.
		Nafsau.	Nafsau.
		Loyd.	Loyd.
		Prince of Hefse.	Prince of Hefse.
		L: d. Cutts.	L: d. Cutts.
		Danish.	Danish.
		Danish.	Danish.
		Danish.	Danish.
		Schack.	Schack.
		Nienheuse.	Nienheuse.
		Zulytein.	Zulytein.
		Recdesfell.	Recdesfell.
		Ginckell.	Ginckell.
		Eppinger.	Eppinger.

From Story's History of the Wars in Ireland, 287. A. 5. B.M.

rightly concluding that if St. Ruth made a stand at Aughrim it would be a stubborn fight.

On the 11th Ginkel was at Ballinasloe encamped along the banks of the River Suck on the Roscommon side. While the Army was encamping the general and his staff went forward to reconnoitre the enemy's position from a hill about a mile from the place. They could only at first, however, see the outposts, these, on the approach of the reconnoitring party, retired, upon which the staff advanced to Corbally Hills, from whence a good view of the camp could be obtained. Ginkel resolved, in spite of the apparent strength of the Irish position, to march against St. Ruth the next day. Orders were given out at night that all, except two regiments left to guard the camp, were to be under arms early in the morning, and were to march without baggage.

The word that night was "Dublin."

St. Ruth, as the English Army approached, saw that Ginkel had resolved to attack him at once, and made every preparation for desperate resistance. On the 11th July he had sent forward several parties towards the English while on the march to Ballinasloe, no doubt to try and ascertain their strength, but on the advance of a large detachment led by Ginkel, they retired to their camp three miles beyond Ballinasloe. In a reconnaissance made later in the afternoon they were found to have decamped.* On the 11th July Ginkel rested his Army at Ballinasloe, having the River Suck between him and the Irish. Ginkel, in his letter to the Lords Justices the day before the battle of Aughrim, impressed upon them that he was unable to take care of the country while the Army was in the field. He gave, however, most careful and detailed instructions as to what had best be done. He informed them that whether he sat down before Limerick or Galway—(evidently calculating securely upon driving St. Ruth before him), he needed all his Cavalry to convoy his provisions. He writes "he must entrench himself with care, or he should be liable to insults."

St. Ruth the day before the battle, delivered an address to his Army, in which he more than hinted that his men had not showed the resolute front he could have wished to their enemies, but they had now an opportunity to show the world that they were worthy the cause they were fighting for.

On Sunday morning at 6 a.m. the English Army was in motion, the Infantry and Artillery marching over the bridge, the English

* Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, Part I, p. 322.

THE LINE OF BATTLE. July. 12-1871.

Guest: Generall Ginnell.
The Duke, of Württemberg.

11

Chapter IV

As the day advanced, the English soldiers, who were now in the rear of the French army, began to feel the effects of the fatigue of the march, and the want of food and shelter. They were now in the midst of a dense forest, and the night was closing in. The French army, on the other hand, was in a more favorable position, and was better equipped for the night. The English soldiers, however, were in a state of great distress, and were unable to move forward. The French army, on the other hand, was in a state of great confidence, and was ready to move forward at any moment.

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THE LINE OF BATTLE. July. 12-1691.

From Story's History of the Wars in Ire'and. 287. A. 5, B.M.

and French Horse crossing the river at a ford above the bridge, and the Dutch and Danish Horse at a ford below it. As soon as the river was passed, which was accomplished by the whole Army before 11 a.m., the troops were formed in line of battle. Lord Portland's Horse, which had arrived in camp with the convoy, took its full share in the action. Brigadier Stuart was not present, being at Dublin ill of wounds received at Athlone. Colonel Lloyd's regiment had been left at Athlone, and two other regiments were posted to guard the camp at Ballinasloe.* These three regiments must, therefore, be deducted from the forces shown on the plan.

After crossing the river the Army took up its position in two lines, and remained drawn up on some hilly ground waiting till nearly noon for the fog to lift. At about that time the general ordered the advance, he himself going on with the advanced party and driving in some of the enemy's Cavalry, which appeared on the hills in front of St. Ruth's position. Ginkel then advanced to within half a mile of the Irish camp, and from the top of a small hill on the right he took a long and careful observation.

The ground in front of the Irish position being quite unsuitable for the encampment of the whole of the English Army, and being also, from its position, liable to attack from both flanks (the passes being both in the possession of the enemy), Ginkel resolved—though it was late in the day—to endeavour to force the pass on the right of the Irish so as to secure at least one flank. Accordingly he sent forward two hundred of Sir Albert Cunningham's Dragoons to hold the pass while the Army was coming up. At about 2 p.m. Cunningham advanced to force the pass, which runs through the village of Urachree. The pass was held by a much larger party of the Irish, by whom Cunningham was driven back.

In the meantime Ginkel had sent forward Eppinger's Blue Dutch Dragoons and Lord Portland's Horse to assist Cunningham. The former regiment, in attempting to get between the Irish Horse and their camp, were in their turn forced back by larger forces of the Irish, upon which Lord Portland's Horse came up with such a rush on to the struggling combatants, that the Irish were obliged to give way. The London Gazette of 12th July gives a little different account of the beginning of the fight. In this it is stated that Lord Portland's Horse, having advanced, were met by a party of Irish Horse and Foot which came at them through the bog, upon which Eppinger's Dragoons dismounted and repulsed them. The Irish

* Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, Part I., p. 322, for interesting particulars of Ginkel's preparations for the fight.

then detaching more battalions and squadrons to support their men, the Prince of Wurtemberg came up with the vanguard of his wing, consisting of two battalions, and forced them to retire.

After about an hour's hard fighting the Irish retired over the brook that flanked the right of their Army on to their main body.

A hurried council of war was now held as to whether the attack should be pushed home that night or delayed till daybreak the next morning, but from the fear of the enemy escaping them in the night, coupled, no doubt, with the insecurity of their own position in case of attack, it was resolved, on the strong advice of Major-General Mackay, to continue the fight.

It was by this time about half-past four, when the Infantry of the left wing were ordered up to assist the Horse already engaged in forcing the pass of Urachree. At 5 p.m. the fight on the left was renewed, and pressed on so hard for an hour and a half that the Irish were obliged to reinforce from their own left, bringing over both horse and foot. This gave the opportunity Ginkel was looking for to deliver an attack on the centre, while his right wing of Horse strove gallantly to force the pass on his right by Aughrim Castle. Four regiments of Major-General Mackay's Division, Colonels Earl's, Herbert's, Brewer's, and another regiment plunged into the bog at the narrowest part where the enemy's hedges came into it, crossing a rivulet that ran along the front of the position up to their waists in mud and water. Colonel Earl with his regiment gallantly led the way, and though stubbornly resisted by the Irish they forced them back foot by foot, until, having passed the bog, the English began to beat them out of the hedges on their main lines. Now came the advantage to the Irish of their free lines of communication, which as soon as the English Foot emerged from the bog, allowed them to reinforce so quickly with both horse and foot that the gallant English Brigade was driven back again into the bog, Colonels Earl and Herbert being taken prisoners; the former, however, succeeded in rejoining his men, though badly wounded. While this fight was going on another body of Foot, consisting of Colonels St. John's, Tiffen's, Lord George Hamilton's, the French and several other regiments crossed the bog a little more to the right, but were met with such a terrific fire from the Irish entrenchment that they could not make way, the struggling troops masking the fire of our guns so much that it seemed for a time the attack must fail. Fortunately, while all this was going on, a desperate attempt was being made by the English Horse on the right to force the

AUGHIRM, 12. JULY, 1691.



Compiled from Two Photographs, Windsor Castle (Queen's Library).

View explanatory of the Battle of Aughrim, July 12th, 1691, London, 1693. 12025 (1) 49 F. 135, B.M.
 Phillips' Imperial Atlas, 5360, Lib. B.M.
 Story's History of the Wars in Ireland, 287, A. 6, Lib., B.M.
 and Author's MSS.

pass by Aughrim Castle, with Lord Oxford's Regiment, part of Ruvigny's, Langston's, Byerley's Horse, and Leveson's Dragoons. Sir Francis Compton and Lord Oxford's Horse led the way. This gallant and almost desperate attempt to force the pass was ably supported by the Queen's and by Gustavus Hambleton's regiments, who, though under a heavy and continuous fire from the castle, marched through the pass and took up a strong position in a dry ditch under cover of some walls and hedges. The difficulty of forcing this pass, where only two men abreast could pass, and after getting over, having to march within 30 yards of the castle, seemed so great that when St. Ruth saw the attempt being made he is said to have exclaimed, "They are brave fellows, it is a pity they should be so exposed." *

St. Ruth seeing the danger if the pass on the right was forced ordered a brigade of his own Horse to resist this flank attack, the fight here becoming very hot.

The Foot in the centre had, in the meantime, been rallied by Major-General Talmash, who came up in haste with some fresh men. Ordering the broken regiment to halt, he at once reformed them, and the whole again resolutely advanced, forcing the Irish back. It was now near 6 o'clock, and the whole of the troops on both sides were engaged. After some desperate fighting it appeared doubtful whether the attack would be entirely successful, when the gallant French General, who was hastening to direct the troops in the centre, was killed by a shot from one of our guns. It was not long after this event before the Irish got into confusion, more from want of the head that had been directing them than from any relaxation in their efforts. About this critical time the troops on the left of our line began again to endeavour to force the pass there, in order to engage the troops that were holding them in check, and thus to hinder them from going to the assistance of the hardly pressed centre. Half an hour's hard fighting here drove the Irish away. Both passes being now in the hands of the enemy and the centre pressing forward, the whole Irish line gave way and the rout became complete, the enemy as they fled being cut to pieces by the allied Cavalry, who were now all over the Irish camp and were pressing them over the hill into the bog beyond. Night coming on with a misty rain the pursuit ceased. It was a fortunate circumstance for the Irish that the battle was fought so late in the day, for had there been more time the slaughter would have been

* Storey's continuation, p. 132.

much greater, or a large number would have been captured, for the pass near Loughreagh, through which the greater part of the Army retreated, could easily have been held by the allied Cavalry.

The castle of Aughrim was taken after the battle was over, and a number of the garrison killed, the commander, Colonel Burk, the major, and eleven other officers and forty men, being taken prisoners.

This sanguinary battle was fought with a force on the side of the English and their allies of about 17,000 Horse and Foot. The Irish had about 20,000 Foot and 5,000 Horse and Dragoons (some accounts give 8,000 Horse and Dragoons). The English and their allies lost seventy-three officers killed and 111 wounded—amongst the former was Major-General Hollstaple, commanding Lord Portland's Horse, and Colonel Herbert, who had been taken prisoner by the French and was killed by them when they began their retreat—600 men killed and 900 wounded. The Queen's (Kirk's) regiment lost one captain killed and two lieutenants wounded, with seven privates killed and ten wounded. Amongst the wounded officers was the gallant Prince of Hesse and the equally gallant Lord Cutts.

The Irish loss was terrible, including the commander-in-chief, St. Ruth, Lord Kilmallock, Lord Galway, Sir John Everard, three brigadiers, seven colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, and other general officers, besides at least 500 subaltern officers and 7,000* killed, with 450 prisoners, including the Lords Duleck, Slane, Buffin (or Bedloe), and Killmare, two major-generals, one brigadier, five colonels, seven lieutenant-colonels, seven majors, thirty captains, twenty-five lieutenants, twenty-three ensigns, five cornets, four quartermasters, and one adjutant.

The English captured nine guns, all the ammunition, tents, and baggage, with nearly all their small arms, also eleven standards, and thirty-two pairs of colours.

Ginkel, writing next day to the Lords Justices, asks them to order a public thanksgiving in the other parts of the kingdom, as he has done where the Army is. He also sent Mr. Pulteney to them with an account of the victory, and Lord O'Brien with the flags and standards, as a present to the Queen. Writing on the 15th he refers to the great victory he has gained, and says "that no time must be lost in order to get the full advantage of it."†

The London Gazette, giving an account of the battle, finishes by informing its readers that "the bravery and courage of our men

* This account is taken from Storey's continuation. The London Gazette gives the number killed as 5,000.

† Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, Part I., p. 322.

on this occasion exceeded all the account that can be given, and the vigour and conduct of the general officers contributed extremely to this great and glorious victory." *

The morning after the battle some Irish troopers surrendered, informing General Ginkel that the beaten troops were retiring on Limerick, and that they were in a terribly shattered condition. Brigadier Eppinger was sent on the 13th with a party of 1,200 Horse and Dragoons to seize two places (Portumna and Banoher) on the Shannon. These places surrendered to him next day.

On the 16th Ginkel marched to Loughreagh, and on the 17th to Athenree, within eight miles of Galway, leaving there on the 19th, for Galway. Very little opposition was met with on approaching the town. After a slight skirmish in taking a fort on the south-east of the town, which, though not quite finished, dominated the town, the Irish sent to the general for a safe conduct for some officers to come out of the town with a view to make terms for a capitulation.

Ginkel writes on July 21/31 from the camp, "Thanks for compliments on the victory. Here are the results. The town of Galway has just capitulated; hopes that within the term of four days, which he gives them, the town will be very shortly in his hands. They have agreed on all points."†

The conditions granted by Ginkel to the town of Galway seems to have displeased the people of London, as we find, from a letter in King William's Papers. It was thought that if the victors had made terms that were not too stringent it would have had a good effect in deciding the rest of the campaign. This opinion was not, however, borne out by the facts, as the defenders of Limerick had resolved to hold out to the last.

On Sunday the 26th, at 7 a.m., D'Usson, the French Lieutenant-General (the same who was second in command at Athlone), came into the English camp under a guard and was sent towards Limerick. Before 9 a.m. the guards of the town were delivered into the possession of the newly appointed governor, Sir Henry Bellasis, the two regiments sent in with him being Colonels Herbert's and Brewer's.

Ginkel wrote to the Lords Justices on the 26th :—"The garrison is just marched out of Galway in numbers about 3,000 (Storey gives the number 2,300), though not all armed."‡ "At ten

* London Gazette, 12 July 1691.

† Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, Part I., p. 322.

‡ Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, Part I., p. 323.

Lord Dillon marched out with the garrison, having not above 2,300 men, indifferently armed and worse cloathed, having six pieces of cannon (of which four were iron) drawn by English horses."* Ginkel informed the Justices that he intended to march from Galway in two days' time. The ships that had been ordered from Kinsale and the north to rendezvous with him at Galway had not arrived, but when they did he intended to order them to the Shannon and then on to Limerick.

On the 28th Ginkel left Galway with his Army. Captain Coal, with nine men-of-war and eighteen ships having in the meantime arrived, was sent at once towards Limerick. Resting a day at Athenree or Athenry, and the next night at Loughreagh, on the 1st August the Army arrived at Banoher. On the 3rd they were at Bir, the advanced party under Brigadier Leveson having been sent into Armagh, where they captured a quantity of cattle and baggage. Ginkel arrived at Armagh on the 6th, resting four days there. On the 11th he issued a declaration to the Irish nation offering, in addition to the Lord Justices' former proclamation, a free pardon to all who had resisted his master, and the restoration of their estates, if they would within ten days give in, and to all officers and soldiers, "if they desire it, better part or employment in the Army than (in the one ?) they left."

Orders were sent on the 8th of August from Whitehall to the Lords Justice, that as soon as possible preparations were to be made for ships to be employed in transporting men and stores to Flanders.† Ten days later a letter was received by the Lords Justices, explaining that the orders above given were directed by the Queen "upon the great probability of Ireland being reduced speedily, but not otherwise to be put into execution, and therefore none of the forces will be transported till Limerick is first in their possession, and when it is there will be left with their Lordships a sufficient number of troops to secure the peace of that kingdom."‡

On the 14th they marched to Carigauliss, or Cahirconlich (a camp the enemy had on the advance of the English deserted), the general and his staff going the same day to within two miles of Limerick. The next day a reconnaissance in force was made, the troops composing it consisting of 1,500 Horse and 1,000 Foot, the whole being under the command of Major-General Ruvigny. The

* Harris's Life of William III., Vol. III., p. 172.

† King's Letter Book, Ireland, 1681-1695, p. 260.

‡ Ibid., p. 263.

reserve Foot was placed under the command of the Prince of Hesse, who had also with him a battery of six guns.

The reconnaissance was pushed forward to the ground the English had occupied the year before, and with only a slight resistance from the Cavalry outposts of the enemy. They found that the Irish had repaired Ireton's fort and built two others, and had begun lines of communication between the forts.

While they remained taking observations a deserter, one Captain Hagan, came from the town, and informed them that Tyrconnel had died the day before, and that Sarsfield was now in command.

Ginkel now determined to throw his whole strength against Limerick. On the 20th he wrote a letter, desiring that it might be laid before the Queen. In this letter he urged the absolute necessity of sending a squadron of ships to guard the Shannon, "when the main Fleet goes away," without which he stated he would be unable to block the river, and as the defenders of Limerick rely upon succours reaching them by the river, they would be encouraged to continue their resistance.

There seems to have been, from all the evidences, a great deal of jealousy amongst the leaders of King William's Army, each one having his admirers. We have seen how Generals Douglass and Lanier were condemned for their action. In a letter amongst King William's Papers, addressed to Mr. John Rayley, a merchant in New Queen Street, near Cheapside, Kirk comes in for a scathing condemnation, while Douglass is extolled as a person of "great honor and worth." The writer, who was evidently one of the Dundalk Army, gives a lurid description of the suffering there, which he says had resulted in the destruction of 10,000 men, and the few sickly men left had retreated back to the north "to fight with hunger and cold." The writer (the letter is not signed) prays his friend to get some City member to inquire into their case, "in order that a speedy remedy may be applied to their misfortunes, which are Kirk and the French."*

Ginkel waited at Cahirconlich till all his stores of guns and ammunition came in. The "tin boats," as the pontoons are called, coming by water from Athlone as far up the Shannon as Killaloe.

The great leader of the Rapparees had given in his submission on the capitulation of Galway, but it would appear that Ginkel had not much confidence in his sincerity, as on the 20th he sent a

* Home Office, King William's Sealed Letter Bag, 1691, March-August, No. 9.

note to Colonel Lloyd, who with his regiment was convoying guns to Athlone, that as soon as he had delivered his convoy into the charge of a party sent out to meet him, he was to return with his regiment to Athlone, and keep a strict watch there.

By 22nd August the weather, which had been very wet and stormy, began to amend, and on the 25th the Army moved to Limerick. A strong advance party was sent on, consisting of 900 Cavalry, Horse, and Dragoons, and 1,000 Foot, with eight guns, and fifty pioneers. The order of march was in two columns, both covered with advanced parties. The approach to the town was made the same as the year before last, but a little nearer the Shannon.

As soon as the whole Army had arrived in position, the advanced party under General Mackay was ordered up to attack Ireton's Fort and Old Church Fort; the Irish troops, however, in those places made no resistance, retiring as soon as the English got within musket shot. In the evening of the same day, Count Nassau took Cromwell's Fort, to the left of Ireton's Fort, which the Irish had made more defensible, and had put in a garrison of 500 men. The Grenadiers led the way, a heavy volley from the Irish hardly checking the advance for a moment, and when the Grenadiers threw in their grenades, the Irish, seeing how unfalteringly the whole party moved up, lost heart and ran, losing about ten men, the loss on the side of the English being only three killed. Ireton and Cromwell's Forts were now christened Mackay and Nassau Forts, from the names of the commanders who captured them.

These forts being taken, made the besiegers secure in their position. The next day, when all the trains, with the bombs, balls, and also a large quantity of shovels and pickaxes, arrived, the approaches were began, also some works near the Shannon in the west, behind which the Danes encamped, and who protected that part of the works during the siege. On the 27th the ships were ordered up to within a mile of Limerick, and considerably astonished and disturbed the Irish by firing into their cavalry encampment near the town.

On the 31st a captain, a lieutenant, and eleven Dragoons deserted from the Irish camp, and gave valuable information to the besiegers. The same night a new battery was commenced and finished before morning by troopers (a most unusual work for them, but which had been ordered in consequence of the excessive fatigue of the Foot in the trenches).

On the 1st September Colonel Woolsey, with a party of 500 Horse and Dragoons, was sent forward towards Killaloe, it having

been reported that Sarsfield had started on some secret expedition. They were determined that they would not again be caught napping by that able and active commander.

Deserters came in continually from the town, and all brought the same story, that the Irish had resolved to defend the town to the last extremity. In case the town fell, the besieged calculated on a safe retreat through County Clare, leaving Limerick by Thomond Gate; their great anxiety, therefore, was to keep the besiegers from crossing the river into Clare.

By the 8th September all the new batteries were ready, and on that day and the next such a storm of bombs, fire balls, and carcasses was poured into the devoted town that enormous damage was done, fire breaking out in several parts, a considerable breach was also made in the walls in King's Island between the abbey and Balls Bridge, many of the enemy's guns being silenced.

The bombardment was continued day by day till the 15th, when a cessation of the Artillery fire was ordered, and preparations made to cross the Shannon with a view to drive off the enemy's Cavalry, and to make an attempt to storm the town by Thomond's Bridge. Accordingly, every effort was made to prepare the "tin boats and floats." In the evening of the 15th, all being ready, 400 Grenadiers were ordered to parade in front of Kirk's regiment, the Queen's, where they were joined by 600 workmen with the tin boats. The troops to support the attack were composed of five regiments of Foot (including the Queen's), five guns, under the command of Major-General Talmash, and a body of Horse and Dragoons, under Major-General Scrammore.

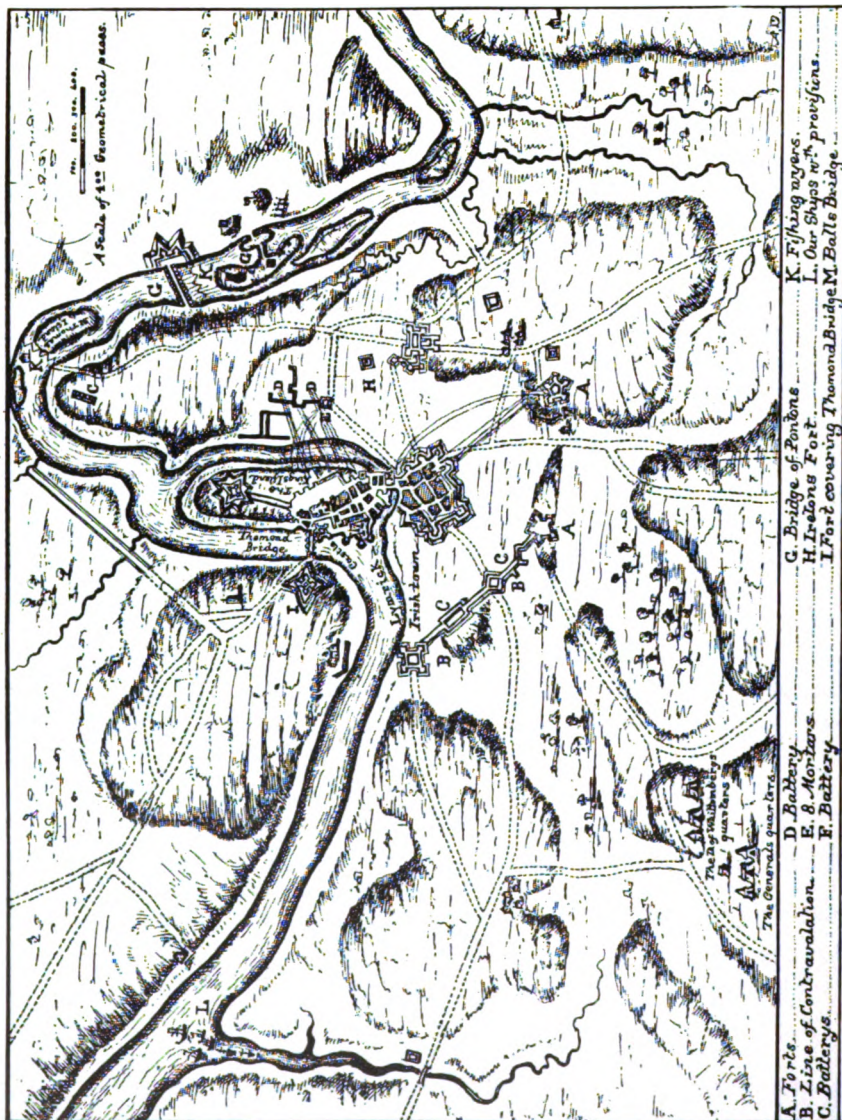
The party started at 9 p.m., and at midnight arrived at a part of the Shannon a little below St. Thomas Island, where they commenced to lay the pontoons to another island. While this was being done, the Grenadiers under Sir David Collier crossed the river to this island by means of the tin boats; from there they were able to pass by a ford to the other side, driving off some of the Irish who were harassing the workmen. By daylight the bridge was finished, Colonel Matthews with his Dragoons being the first to cross on to the island. Four regiments of Dragoons, and about the same number of Foot, of the Irish now moved forward to dispute the passage of the river, but the Grenadiers crossing quickly over the ford took possession of an old house, and lining the hedges near kept the Irish at bay till some of Matthews' Dragoons, having got over, drove off a party of the enemy who were attempting to dislodge the Grenadiers on their right flank.

As soon as sufficient troops had crossed the river, General Talmash ordered the Grenadiers to advance, supported by a regiment of Foot and two parties of Horse and Dragoons. After some faint resistance, a panic seized the Irish and they turned and ran towards a large bog and wood in their rear, throwing away their grenades and muskets in their flight. The English pursued for some distance, killing many of the fugitives and taking some prisoners, including a French Lieutenant-Colonel. After halting to enable the whole force, which had now crossed, to come up, they turned to the left, and skirting round the bend of the river advanced towards the enemy's camp on the road to Thomond's Gate. By this time the news of the passing of the river had reached the camp, and the surprise and confusion was so great that, although their Horse made a show of resistance, it was only to gain time for them to try and secure their tents and baggage, and to endeavour to destroy the small bridge across a causeway leading to the town. The English guns, however, drove them away before they could effect their object, and the causeway was left entire. The troops did not advance further than the enemy's camp, fearing an ambuscade, but they burnt the camp, and a large quantity of Dragoons' saddles and other accoutrements. The Dragoons' horses having been out at grass, the men had to escape on foot. The confusion was so great, so many having to cross Thomond's Bridge into the town, that it was believed had our troops advanced resolutely the town might have been taken that day by storm. The troops now returned, leaving a strong party at the bridge of boats on the Clare side.

The loss in this day's action was only one sergeant killed and twenty men wounded. The enemy's loss was also very slight, some fifteen or twenty. Ginkel, writing on the 17th an account of the action, says that had the advance been made right up to the town they would have lost as prisoners their Lords Justices. They took a standard and two pieces of cannon, and the arms, saddles, and tents of four regiments of Dragoons. He also writes with confidence that if the Fleet does its duty and prevents succour from France, "he doubts not he shall take Limerick."

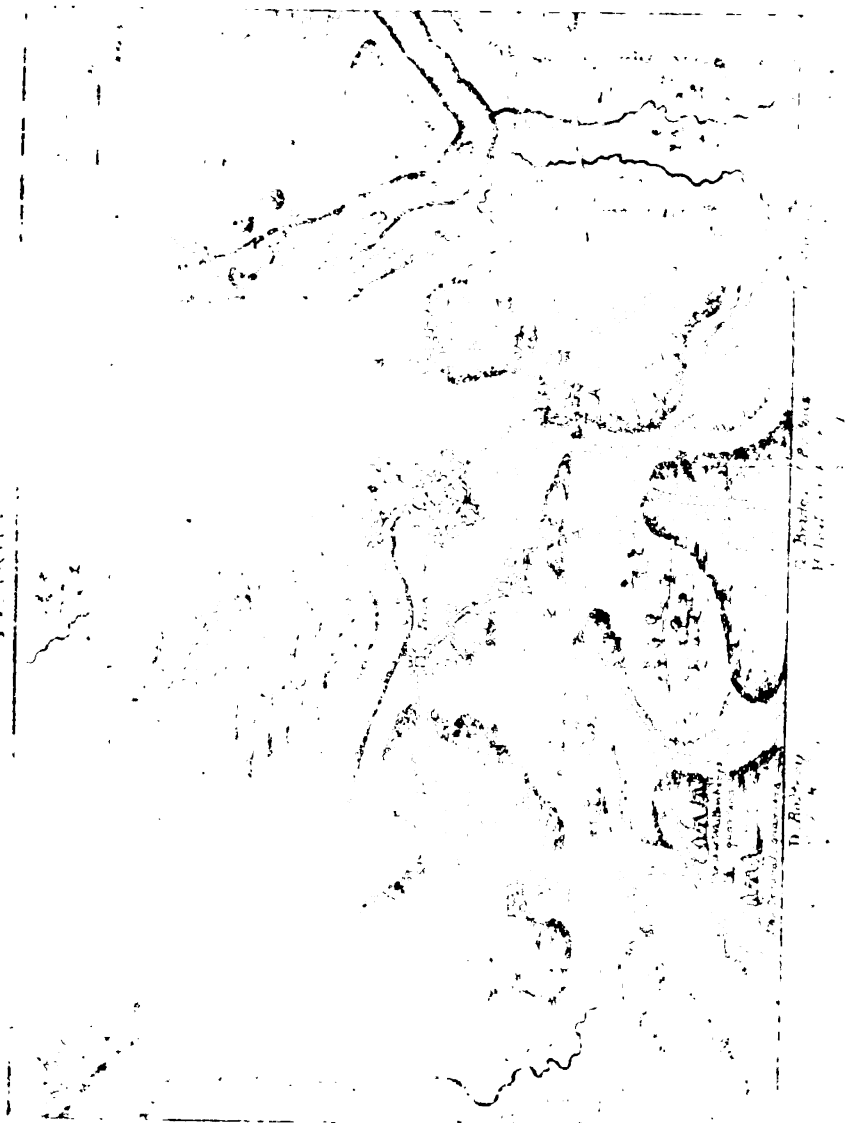
The next few days were spent in still further strengthening the works, in order to enable the troops to defend their position should it be attacked, while a large party again crossed the river to endeavour to storm the town by Thomond's Bridge. On Tuesday, the 22nd September (o.s.), Ginkel went himself with the troops to make the attack. He was accompanied by the Duke of Wurtemberg and Lieutenant-General Scravemore. The Cavalry

LYMRICK, 1697.



From Story's History of the Wars in Ireland, 287. A. 5. B.M.

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consisted of all the Horse and Dragoons (with the exception of Coy's Horse and fifty Dragoons out of each regiment), under the command of Major-General Ruvigny. Of the Foot there were ten regiments. The Artillery consisted of fourteen guns, viz., ten 3-pounders and four 12-pounders. The troops took seven days provisions with them. Major-Generals Mackay and Talmash were left in command of the camp and works. By noon all the troops had passed the river, though much harassed by the fire from the town.

The Grenadiers were now ordered to advance, supported by Kirk's, Tiffin's, St. John's, and Lord George Hamilton's regiments. The Irish were soon forced back and driven from the works covering Thomond Bridge. These works consisted of two forts and some "natural fortifications of stone quarries and gravel pits," in which the Irish had posted 800 men. The advance of the English in face of a veritable "feu d'enfer" from these troops, the guns from the forts, and the King's Castle on the town side of the bridge, and the firing from the troops on the walls, was most heroic, but in spite of all the efforts of the Irish the advance never slackened, and though they had been ordered not to go too close to the town, the troops pressed forward as the Irish were forced back from one post to another till they reached the entrance to the bridge, when a French Major, who was in command there, seeing that there was imminent danger of the English entering the town with the flying and defeated Irish troops, raised the drawbridge and shut out those of the Irish who had not been fortunate enough to have entered before.

The scene that now ensued was terrible, as many being killed on the bridge by the crush and by being forced over into the river as by the weapons of the English. It is reported that before the slaughter was over they lay in heaps higher than the ledges of the bridge.* Another account stated that "about 600 of the Irish were killed, there being nothing to be seen from the foot of the bridge to the drawbridge but heaps of dead bodies." About 130 † were taken prisoners, among whom was Major Skelton, "who is since dead of his wounds," two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, nine captains, seven lieutenants, and six ensigns.‡ The loss of the English was Lieutenant Starlin and twenty-five men killed and about sixty wounded.

* Storey's continuation, p. 224.

† Storey says ninety-seven prisoners were taken.

‡ London Gazette, September 28th, 1691.

The success was considered so important that next day (our troops having secured their position at the foot of the bridge) the generals in command of the town beat a parley at about six p.m. The guns on both sides had played heavily all day. On the 24th Sarsfield and Wauchop came into camp to see the general, and to propose three days' truce to enable the besieged to send to Lieutenant-General Sheldon commanding the Cavalry, and who lay with about 1,500 Horse at Six Mile Bridge, and who they desired to consult. The position of the town though critical was not desperate, for although the besiegers had captured the works at Thomond Gate, yet their forces were divided, and had the Irish and French in the town been united, a well planned and vigorous attack on the English camp would have had a great chance of success, for had the works at Thomond Bridge been recaptured it would have meant ruin for the English troops.

Both English and Irish were, however, anxious for an end of it all. The latter were also now not on too good terms with their French allies. The King had given Ginkel private instructions not to insist on too humiliating terms. The English General, in his letters to the Lords Justices about this time, laid great stress on his difficulties in providing food both for his fleet and troops. He writes, "It is cruel that in such an important matter different proceedings are not taken in England."* An Irish Colonel who had deserted from the town an hour before the fight began at Thomond Gate gave Ginkel many particulars of the Irish Infantry and Cavalry. There was from 10,000 to 12,000 Infantry in the town well armed, and 4,000 not armed. The Cavalry, he said, were in great disorder and he thought could be easily dispersed by being followed up. In a letter of the general's to Lord Coningsby the day of the fight of the 22nd, he writes, he "hopes still to take Limerick, provided succour from France be prevented; but taking of the town by assault as proposed is impracticable. He saw yesterday how those people defend themselves, and assures their Lordships that they do not fear fire and were very steady in their charge."*

On the 25th Lieutenant-General Sheldon with several French Lords, the Titular Primate, McGuire, and several others, came into the camp and dined with Ginkel, afterwards going into the town to consult with Sarsfield and the others. On the 20th Sarsfield and Wauchop came into camp and it was agreed that hostages should be exchanged whilst the terms of the treaty was being arranged.

* Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, Part I., p. 323.

On the 27th the Irish sent in their proposals, but they were not such as could be accepted, so on the 28th Sarsfield, Wauchop, and a large party came to the camp for further parley. After a long discussion, in which all the English general officers took part, articles were agreed upon.

The same afternoon an order was sent to Cork that the transport ships there were to sail for the Shannon, and embark part of the Irish forces. A letter was also sent to Sir Ralph Delaval, the Admiral in command of a squadron that had been ordered to Limerick to assist Ginkel by keeping out French succour, of which the following is a copy :—

Camp before Limerick.

September 28th, 1691.

SIR,

I HAVE notice from my Lord Nottingham that you were to come with the squadron under your command into these seas; which makes me send this to acquaint you that I have entered into a treaty with the City of Limerick and the Irish Army which is now just come to a conclusion. In the meantime we have a cessation of arms at hand and have agreed that there shall be one too at sea, upon the coasts of this Kingdom, since several of the Irish Army are to be transported, and to make use of French as well as English ships for that purpose: and therefore I must desire you not to hinder the transport ships of France from coming into the Shannon, nor the rest of their fleet into Dingle Bay.

The French Intendant here has written on his part to the squadron of their men of war that is expected, and gives assurance that no hostility will be committed by them; and you will please to observe the same on your side, which is very necessary for their Majesties service, and the speedy finishing the affair we have in hand; to which I am sure you contribute what you may, as well as,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

BAR. DE GINKEL.

The time, while waiting for the Lords Justices to arrive to confirm and finish the articles, was spent in mutual amenities between the general officers of the two camps. Ginkel had written, on the same day that articles had been agreed to the Lord Justices informing them of it, and urged them to come on as quickly as possible "for bread and forage will be wanting in a short time, and oblige him to starve or be gone if the business be not soon finished." He wrote to them again on October 1/11 asking them to hasten, as now "all depends upon them, and the Army suffers by the delay."

In the evening of the 1st the Lords Justices arrived, and by the 3rd the articles were signed and issued, the same evening. Four of the gates and a stone fort dominating the town were given up to

the troops as guarantee, and at the same time five regiments were marched into the town. The articles indemnified the Irish, with certain qualifications, for their losses, and restored to them all that they had enjoyed in King Charles' reign upon condition of their taking the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. The Irish, as many as pleased, were promised a free passage to France along with the French troops. This condition nearly led to a resumption of hostilities, for Ginkel, having received a note informing him that a Lieutenant-Colonel had been imprisoned for refusing to go to France, he ordered four guns to be planted on Balls Bridge, swearing "he would teach the Irish to play tricks with him." On Sarsfield coming over to camp to expostulate with him, they had high words over it, Sarsfield, at last, saying that he was in his power (implying ungenerous treatment of the victor), upon which Ginkel replied, "not so, but you shall go in again and do the most you can."* The affair was at last arranged.

The civil articles concerning the surrender of the town "between Lieutenant-General Ginkel, Commander-in-Chief of the English Army on one side, and the Lieutenant-Generals D'Usson and de Lesse, Commanders-in-Chief of the Irish Army on the other side, and the general officers hereunto subscribing," were signed by D'Usson, Chevalier de Lesse, Latour Montford, Mark Talbot, Lucan,† Jo. Wauchop, Galmoy and M. Purcel. The second articles, agreeing about the privileges to be granted to the Irish, were made between "the Right Honourable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Conyngesby, Esq., Lords Justices of Ireland, and his Excellency the Baron de Ginkel, Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the English Army on the one part, and the Right Honourable Patrick Earl of Lucan (Sarsfield), Percy Viscount Galmoy, Colonel McPurcell, Colonel Dillon, and Colonel John Browne on the other side," and was signed by Scravemore, H. Mackay, T. Talmash, Charles Porter, Tho. Conyngesby, Baron de Ginkel.

Kirk appears to have left Ireland for Holland immediately Limerick fell to take up his new command; he did not, however, live many days after his arrival there. He died at Breda on the 31st October. Whatever may have been his faults—and they were many—he was a brave and gallant soldier. He was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Colonel William Selwyn, an officer from the Coldstream Guards, whose commission is dated the

* Harris's *Life of William III.*, Vol. III., p. 189.

† General Sarsfield will now for the future be so styled in these pages.

18th December of this year. According to accounts in the Treasury Papers, Kirk's horses (seventy), four carts, and his servants, were shipped from Dublin on the 26th May 1690 for Highlake.*

In the Miscellaneous Treasury Papers is an entry under the heading of "Equitable Claims" of a claim by Arthur Robinson, one of the executors of Kirk "for the pay of the said Lieutenant-General Kirk at 4*l.* a day and his two aide-de-camps at 10*s.* a day each between the 24th December 1690 and 20th October 1691, inclusive, 1,505*l.*, whereof paid 245*l.*, and there remains 1,260*l.*" The sum appears in a Report of Charles Fox, Esq., Sub-Paymaster of Ireland, and is dated 11th March 1703/4. It was sanctioned for payment in a Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, dated 2nd March 1705.†

On the 5th Ginkel issued orders with reference to the Irish troops who were willing to take service under King William, promising them that they should have full liberty to choose whether they would take service or return to their homes, but if they elected to go into France "they must not expect to return into this kingdom again."

A day or two after the articles of Limerick were signed the French Fleet came into Dingle Bay. Ginkel writes on the 9th from Limerick, "We have a confirmation to day as to the thirty-three (French) vessels of war arrived in Dingle Bay; and if it is true we are fortunate in having concluded the treaty, for I have as yet no news of Admiral Delaval."‡ A few days later on he heard from the Admiral, and on the 24th and 26th October he wrote pressing letters from Kilkenny, urging him to hasten up to the Shannon, as "the French Generals make so many difficulties since the coming of their Fleet," that he is afraid of their breaking the articles. He desired the Admiral to join Captain Coals quickly in order to be prepared for emergencies. He also informed him that the French Fleet was at Scattery.§

Letters from Ireland about the 5th November state that Delaval, with fifty English and Dutch men-of-war, was not far from the French convoy of twenty-five men-of-war, "but whether he had orders to attack them or not was doubtful."|| Further letters,

* Calendar of Treasury Papers, Vol. XXVII., No. 61.

† Treasury, Military, Misc. 1701/2, March 8, Bundle 1, No. 6.

‡ Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, Part I., p. 324.

§ Storey's continuation, p. 272

|| Luttrell, Vol. II. p. 303.

which arrived in London on the 13th, give the estimate of the French succour (happily sent too late) as eighteen men-of-war, six fire ships, and twelve ships of burden laden with provisions and ammunition. They had on board 10,000 arms, 200 officers, and 3,000 soldiers.*

On the 14th Ginkel dismissed the troops to their winter quarters, leaving Major-Generals Talmash and Mackay with six regiments in the town until the Irish troops were all gone. These officers left the beginning of November for England.

As soon as the news, which was brought by General Ginkel's son, of the fate of Limerick was received in London, the Minister Nottingham sent word of it to the Lord Mayor of London, in order that he might celebrate the happy event in the city in a suitable manner.†

On the 1st December the Earl Nottingham wrote to Blathwayte, instructing him to have a Proclamation prepared by the Attorney and the Solicitor-General for presentation to Council, for preventing all disorders in the march of the troops that were coming out of Ireland. The lawyers were also to take into consideration the conditions of the Limerick capitulation, and to see that it was in accordance with the laws of England.

On the 5th December Ginkel, attended by the Lords Justices and a large party of nobility and gentry, left Dublin to embark for England. He sailed, after taking leave of his friends, in the Monmouth, on the 6th.

The regiment, according to the Treasury Papers, left Dublin in December of this and January of next year. In Mr. Homrigh's account of charges of transports, the following appears:—"1691, December 23. For Chester on board ship, three horses and servants of Adjutant-General Withers, in Kirk's Regiment. 1691, December 24th. For Chester on board one ship, one horse, and seven men of Major-General Kirk's Regiment. 169½, January 6th. For Highlake on board five ships, 580 men of Major-General Kirk's Regiment."‡

A warrant was issued on 14th November to pay to Lady Mary Kirk, relict of Lieutenant-General Kirk, during the minority of Piercy Kirk, the sum of 500*l.* per annum, and a further sum of 150*l.* as Housekeeper of the Palace of Whitehall.§

* Luttrell, Vol. II., p. 305.

† Dom. State Papers. Secretary's Letter Book, 1688-1690 and 1688-1693

‡ Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1557-1696, Vol. XXVII., No. 61.

§ Audit Office enrolments.

On the 4th December an Order in Council was addressed to the Lords Justices of Ireland, stating that the Commissioners appointed for looking into the arrears of the Army in Ireland were ordered to place in the account of each regiment, &c., that for the provisions delivered to them, 4*d.* was to be charged for each foot soldier and 12*d.* for each trooper per diem.

The establishment of the regiment was the same as last year, viz., thirteen companies total 780 men. The total cost for the year was 16,145*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

The House of Commons Journals, Vol. 10, gives a list of the distribution of the land forces as follows:—

In England.—Four Regiments of Horse	...	...	...	1,026
One Regiment of Dragoons	...	...	...	480
Twelve Regiments of Foot	...	...	...	9,360
One Independent Company	...	...	...	50
Total	...	...	...	<u>10,916</u>
In Ireland.—One Regiment of Horse	...	...	...	300
Two Regiments of Dragoons	...	...	...	960
Fifteen Regiments of Foot	...	...	...	11,700
Total	...	...	...	<u>15,660</u>
In Scotland.—One Troop of Guards	...	...	...	118
One Regiment of Dragoons	...	...	...	360
Two Regiments of Foot	...	...	...	1,560
Total	...	...	...	<u>2,038</u>
In the West Indies.—One Regiment of Foot	...	...	...	780
Three Independent Companies	...	...	...	180
Total	...	...	...	<u>960</u>

The return is dated 19th November.

There is an interesting paper found in King William's Sealed Bag, on the state of the Infantry in Ireland. The paper is styled, "Memoire sur le sujet de l'Infanterie qui se trouve presentement dans l'Irlande." It is in four heads, the third dealing more or less with the state of discipline in the regiments in Ireland. In this paper the regiments that are said to be the best are Kirk's, Meath's, Hamilton's, and the three Huguenot regiments, Melonière's, Cambon, and Le Calimot. In another paper, with reference to provisioning the Army, it is stated "that biscuit and Cheshire cheese are more useful and nourishing to the British Army, and preserved

the soldiers in better health in their marching, than any other nourishment.”*

The winter quarters of the Infantry was as follows:—

Kirk's regiment, Longford; Meath's, Westmeath; Hanmer's, Eastmeath; Lisburn's, King's County; Earl's, King's County; Drogheda, Louth; Foulke's, Gustavous Hambleton's, Brewer, and Harbord's quarters are not stated.†

In another place in the papers from which this is extracted the quarters of the Guards and the Queen's is given as Antrim and places adjacent.‡

* Home Office, King William's Sealed Bag, 1671, No. 11.

† Home Office, King William's Sealed Bag, 1692, No. 13.

‡ Ibid.

CHAPTER VII.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR IN FLANDERS.

1692.

CONTENTS.—Regiment arrives at Higlake from Ireland and proceeds to London—King William's preparations for the year's Campaign—King James' preparations—His Proclamation—Camp at Portsmouth—Manœuvring of the English and French Fleets—Naval Battle of La Hogue—Disposition of King William's Troops—King leaves for Holland—Joins the Confederate Camp near Brussels—Capitulation of Town of Namur to French—Duke of Wurtemberg's unsuccessful attempt to take Mons—Battle of Steenkirk—The "Queen's" in camp at Portsmouth—Embarks in the Fleet to take part in an attempt to land at Brest—Fleet returns to Portland—Troops on board ordered to Flanders—Four Battalions (including the Queen's") take Furnes and Dixmund—King holds Council of War at Brussels—Returns home—Establishment and Pay of Regiment—Opening of Campaign in 1693—King leaves for Flanders—Lilly forced to retreat to Maestricht—Concentration of the English at Antwerp Port—List of Troops—Confederates at Diegham—Luxemburg at Givry—Boufflers at Ypres—English join the Confederates at Diegham—King arrives at Diegham—Disposes his Army to cover Louvain—The French at Meldert—Duke of Wurtemberg sent with a detachment to West Flanders—Drives the French from their lines at D'Oignies—Luxemburg captures Huy—King William at Park—Luxemburg threatens Liège—The Allies at Neerhespen—Luxemburg resolves to attack Allies—Preparations on both sides—Battle of Landen—Wurtemberg ordered to join King William—Capitulation of Charleroi—Wurtemberg joins the King at Wemel—Allies move to Quintin Lenneck—Go into Winter Quarters—Cases of desertion—King issues orders against swearing in the Army—Warrant condemning Dutch firelocks—Officers granted leave to go to England—Regulations as to Maintenance and Rations in Winter Quarters—King lands at Harwich—List of Troops in Flanders in December 1693—Cost of clothing in 1693.

THE campaign in Ireland being over, the regiment, as before stated, left early in January, arriving at Higlake in two parties on 11th and 12th January.

On the 2nd of the month the Lords Justices sent a letter to Lord Nottingham informing him that "Kirk's Regiment" would leave on Monday the 7th January (O.S.), with the remainder of Rischalls' (?) Horse, and that the only regiment out of those ordered

home, still left in Ireland, would be Colonel Lord George Hamilton's. This regiment was 700 strong, when it came out of quarters, but before it could be got ready for embarkation, over 450 deserted.

The following was the state of the Queen's regiment at the end of the campaign of last year, and the numbers that embarked in January.

A LIST OF CERTAIN REGIMENTS, OFFICERS, MEN, &c.

Col., Lt. Col., Major.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Effective Men.	Sick Men.	Dead Men.
Maj.-General	—	Sands -	Gilpin -	41	—	19
Kirke.	—	Monck -	Davis -	39	—	21
Lieut. - Col.	—	Moseley -	Kaiserlicht -	35	—	25
Rowe.	Collier(? Collins)	Robinson -	Leighbourne -	35	—	25
Major Billing	Wescombe -	Campbell -	Henley -	47	—	17
	Withers -	{ Taylor - Price - }	—	55	—	5
	Thomas -	Nelson -	Burt -	46	—	14
	Webster -	Lyndloff -	Caesles -	38	—	22
	Fairborne -	Biggott -	Butler -	37	—	23
	Duffe -	Connery -	Gardener -	48	—	12
	Kirke -	Bickerstaff -	Neyland -	33	3	24
	James -	Bowles -	Grobeer -	33	3	21
	Leake -	Armit (Arnott)-	Loggins -	42	3	14
3 Field Officers	10 Captains	14 Lieuts.	12 Ensigns	529	9	242

The full quota is given as 13 companies, total 780 men.

A curious and interesting paper, dated 6th January, gives particulars of three score chests of drugs and medicines, internal and external, sufficient to serve three score regiments of 500 in each regiment. These medicines were for the Flanders campaign "now next entering." A small laboratory was also fitted up at the Savoy for the drugs. The chests were to be sent to Rotterdam, Brussels, Breda, Maestricht, and other places, and were to be delivered to the surgeon of each regiment.*

In March preparations had been begun for the transportation of the troops from the Thames to Holland, but considerable difficulty had been experienced in obtaining transports in consequence of the arrears owing by Government for the transport of the troops from Ireland. The troops, including the Queen's under Colonel Selwyn, with the officers' horses (and the regiments of Horse to be conveyed from the Thames to Holland or Flanders), were estimated at 1,643 horses and 2,400 men. The cost of

* War Office, Dutch Miscellany Book, 1692-1695, 6th January; also State Papers, Ireland, 1692, No. 368.

provisioning the horses and men during the voyage (estimated at eight days) is given as follows:—

						£	s.	d.
Provender for Horses	...	...	...	...	...	5,063	0	0
Provisions for 2,420 men for eight days—								
Per Diem	{	Bread at one pound per man	...	...	...	121	2	0
		Cheese at half a pound per man, or three pence per Ho.	...	...	...	121	0	0
		Beer "one pottle"	...	...	...	101	5	0
Casks for Beer	...	...	...	...	...	67	10	0
Platforms	...	...	...	...	...	20	10	0
Freight at 8s. per head	...	...	...	...	...	320	0	0
Incidents	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Totals for Men and Horses*						5,824	7	0

In the same papers that this information is taken from, we find particulars of bringing home the late General Kirk's equipage, which is here given as 64 horses, a coach, calléche, and baggage.

Captain George Kirk seems to have had a considerable correspondence with the Treasury Lords over the cost of this transportation.

Margaret Thomas, the widow of the late Captain Thomas, sent in to the Lords of the Treasury a petition for her support and for moneys due to her late husband. She states that he was born in Tangier, that her husband had "always been very zealous for their Majestys' service, till by sickness occasioned by former wounds her said late husband died in December last." She was given 50*l.* for present necessities, and an exact statement was ordered to be sent in to the Treasury of the state of her late husband's accounts, when the case would be further gone into.

The Government were evidently hard pushed to meet all their engagements and the claims that were made upon them. The clothier contractors had to be paid in "tallies." In many cases also the regiments were paid in "tallies." The total amount due to the clothiers for clothing five regiments, Earl of Oxford's, Colonels Selwyn's, Trelawney's, Erle's, and Tiffin's was 15,111*l.*, out of which they had only received 4,000*l.* In 1695 Colonel Selwyn petitioned the Lords for repayment of money his officers had lost by having to sell their tallies at a loss of from 20 to 22 per cent.†

* Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1557-1696, Vol. XVII., No. 63.

† Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1557-1696, Vol. XXXII., No. 58.

On the 13th the regiment left Highlake for London (in company with Colonel Beverley's and Colonel Lloyd's regiments, who had returned from Holland). The brigade was under the command of Major-General Talmash. It did not arrive in London till 13th May.

The King, in his speech at the September prorogation of Parliament before he left for Holland, intimated that he had a design for a descent upon France.

An attempt of King James to recover his lost kingdom was intended to have been made at the end of April this year. The French had long been busy preparing for this expedition, Louis having at last given way to the earnest entreaties of King James. At the beginning of the year they commenced to organise Fleets at Toulon and at Brest, and other places, sending despatches to other ships of war to repair forthwith to the ports of either Toulon, Brest, Rochefort, or Port Louis. A camp was also formed at La Hogue. The whole combined Fleet, which was to crush up the English, was to amount to seventy-five ships of the line. They also recalled all their privateers and laid an embargo upon all their merchantmen, to enable them to man this Fleet, hiring 300 transports to carry the Army that it was intended to transport to England. The numbers of this Army are variously stated; Burnet* gives it as about 14,000 English and Irish and 3,000 French, the whole under the command of Marshal Bellfonds; another statement† gives 20,000 as the number, half of whom were stated to be Irish. D'Estrées was to command the Fleet at Toulon, and Tourville that at Brest.

King James' friends in England and Scotland had not been idle. Two regiments of horse were privately levied in the City of London, and eight of horse and foot were in like manner levied, appointed, and armed in Lancashire. Ireland was in agitation, and in Scotland the cause of the exile gained many adherents.

James now published a declaration which was drawn up by Lord Chief Justice Herbert, and which contained, among other matters, a promise that all grievances of the nation should be settled and that a pardon would be offered to all who would submit to his Government. Exception was made in this offer of pardon to many noblemen and gentlemen; amongst others, Duke of Ormond, Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Sunderland, Bath, Danby, and Nottingham, the Bishops of London and St. Asaph, Dr. Tillotson,

* Burnet's Own Time, p. 578.

† Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. III., p. 229.

Francis Russel, and many others, and also "all such as offered personal indignities to him at Faversham." *

James and Louis calculated on William having sent most of his troops into Holland, and also on his own absence weakening the power of his adherents. King Louis went himself to Flanders, and he is reported to have said before leaving, that the expedition to England was so well laid that it could not miscarry.

The Queen of England was quite alive to the danger of the invasion, and took her measures accordingly. A proclamation was issued ordering seamen to offer themselves for enlistment.† The ships of the Navy within reach were ordered home; all those at home were got ready for service, new ones built, the Dutch squadrons at Amsterdam and the other ports in Holland were hastily prepared and sent to England, and Admiral Russel was appointed to command both Fleets.

A camp was formed between Portsmouth and Petersfield, and soldiers who had been ordered to join the Army in the Netherlands were sent to Portsmouth to aid in the defence of the Kingdom. Parliament was summoned to meet on the 24th May, the Queen took vigorous measures against known disaffected persons, and called out the Militia of the Kingdom. It was an anxious time for the country and the Queen.

In spite of all the efforts of the French the Fleets could not be got ready in March as they expected. Even after they were ready a most unusually long course of adverse winds confined them to their ports for four weeks.

In the beginning of May a portion of the English Fleet was on the coast of Normandy, endeavouring to destroy the French transports. The French Commander, de Tourville, was then ordered to sail for the English Channel and engage the English Fleet, but the wind being again unfavourable, he was much delayed. In the meantime the Dutch Fleet was enabled to join hands with the English, and the English ships to concentrate. Secret advices were then sent to France of the completeness of the English preparations, and of the danger to France if an attack was made at the present juncture. Louis thereupon sent orders to de Tourville to stop, but he had already sailed, so the King's message did not reach him until after the fight which ensued.

On the 18th of May the combined English and Dutch Fleets sailed. It consisted of ninety-nine ships of the line, carrying about

* Coke's Court of England, Vol. II., p. 507.

† London Gazette, February 4th.

7,000 guns and 40,000 men. At three o'clock in the morning of the next day they came in sight of de Tourville's Fleet, consisting of about 50 ships of the line, about seven leagues from Barfleur. The French flag officers strongly advised de Tourville to retire, as they saw the superiority of the allies and dreaded disaster, but he would not, and pluckily bore down with his own ship the *Royal Sun*, carrying 110 guns, on the English Admiral, selecting his ship for attack. He met with a warm reception, and after a fight of an hour and a half had to be towed off severely damaged.

The fight between the two Fleets went on till four in the afternoon, with uncertain result. Alemond, the Dutch Admiral, had received orders to get round the French Fleet, in order that no part of it should escape, but a thick fog that came on at about four in the afternoon for a time separated the combatants and disconcerted the plans of both. In two hours it lifted, and it was then seen clearly that the French Fleet intended to retreat. The English Admiral therefore signalled to chase from all quarters, without regard to any order.* A running fight ensued until stopped by another fog, followed by a calm, till night closed in.

At daylight it was discovered that the French Fleet had been reduced to 34. The chase continued, a squadron of 16 French ships being met with. These seeing the state of affairs at once retreated and the chase and fight was kept up, part of the French Fleet escaping through the race of Alderney, while de Tourville's ship, the *Royal Sun*, and his two seconds, the *Admiral* and the *Conqueror*, with three more ships, took refuge near Cherbourg, but were burnt next day by the squadron under the command of Sir Ralph Delaval. The remainder of the Fleet took refuge near La Hogue.

And now began the closing scene of the fight. It must have been a splendid sight, though a heartrending spectacle to King James, who, with the Duke of Berwick, Marshal Bellefont, Tourville, and a number of French Commanders of both services, stood on a height between the ships and the Army, which was drawn up ready for action, with platforms raised to plant the Artillery on to help in the action. The English, in spite of the superiority of their Fleet, had a formidable task before them, and had the French been resolute in their resistance their Fleet might have been saved, as it was drawn up close to the shore in the shallows; in fact the French Fleet had grounded and could only be approached in boats.

King James, seeing the French seamen were so disheartened by defeat, and pursuit, had strongly advised that a number

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. III., p. 241.

of regiments should be put on board the ships, for as they were aground they could fight in them as if they were forts. His advice was, unfortunately, for the King, not taken.

Admiral Russel gave the command for the attack to Vice-Admiral Rooke, who, advancing with several men-of-war, soon found he could not get near enough to fight without grounding his ships. He therefore resolved to board the French Fleet with boats, keeping the Fleet as near as possible for help and support. A general attack by the boats was now ordered; they were "to burn or board where they best could; leaving all to the seamen."

The attack was made with the dash that has always been the characteristic of British seamen. The King, when he saw the swarms of seamen scrambling up both sides of the ships, cried out involuntarily, "Ah, none but my brave English could do so brave an action," words which gave great offence to his French friends.

The English sailors advanced in their boats without firing on either the platforms or the ships; as soon as they got close of the ships, giving three huzzas, they climbed up the sides, and in most cases, in order not to be encumbered with their muskets, only carrying their knives, and in many cases no arms at all, they proceeded to completely destroy the remains of the French Fleet that had carried the last hopes of the unfortunate James. The French seamen made but a poor resistance, many of them going off undisturbed in their boats from one side of the ship as the English entered on the other. The British allowed them to escape, as their object was to destroy the Fleet; for the same reason few prisoners were taken. On the first day six ships were burned, the next the remainder were destroyed with a large number of transports and ammunition ships.

Russel ordered solemn prayers and a thanksgiving through all his Fleet for his victory.* King James retired for a time into the convent of La Trappe to endeavour to find consolation in religion for the continued disaster to his Royal House and the complete overthrow of all his high hopes of recovering his lost crown.

King William had obtained the consent of Parliament to a vote for sixty-five thousand land forces which were to be divided as follows:—For England, eleven thousand; for Scotland, two thousand; for Ireland, thirteen thousand, and thirty-eight thousand for service "beyond the sea." Seven thousand of these were destined for the attempt to land in France. This latter force

* Gazette, May 26th.

was to be commanded by the Duke of Leinster, son of Duke Schomberg.

On the 5th March the King left England for Flanders, and arrived at Loo on Saturday the 18th. Letters* from thence to the Court gave information that the French had sent eighteen battalions of Foot and several squadrons of Horse to guard the coast of Normandy, and that they were preparing to encamp at Aeth and Tournay. King James was reported to be going with the French King to Flanders. On the 9th May, King William joined the camp near Brussels. News had been received that the French under Luxemburg had decided to besiege Namur, the King therefore made haste to march towards that place, to endeavour to prevent its falling into their hands. On the 25th he was at Meldert, about seven leagues from Namur. Here he was joined by the Brandenburg contingent, under the command of the Baron de Fleming, consisting of 18,000 men. He decided to send off all his heavy luggage to Louvain, and to march on the 25th to engage the French. The news of the victory of La Hogue had caused the greatest joy to the allies and consternation to the French. Before the King could fall in with the French Army, indeed on the actual day he left Meldert, the town of Namur capitulated, the garrison, after a gallant defence, retiring into the castle. On the 29th the King was joined by Mackay, with sixteen thousand English and Dutch troops, and advancing to the River Mehaigne (Maine), which alone separated him from the enemy's camp, he determined to cross over the next day and give them battle. The weather, however, had been so wet the previous night and day, that he found the low-lying ground round the river full of water, and was unable to advance.

The troops of William amounted to about sixty thousand Foot and twenty-four thousand Horse. He now drew up his Army along the river, with his left resting on Lattine within four miles of Huy, the whole Army covering six miles of the river banks. On 5th July letters† arrived from the King's camp at Genappe. In these letters it is stated that the French Army "lies on both sides of the Sambre, about La Bussière on one side and Haine St. Pierre and Haine St. Paul on the other." It had been reported they were about to encamp at Cambron, near Aeth, "having lost twenty-five battalions and two regiments of Horse at Namur." The King, being unable to operate against the French in consequence

* Dom. State Papers, 29th March 1692 (o.s.), No. 4.

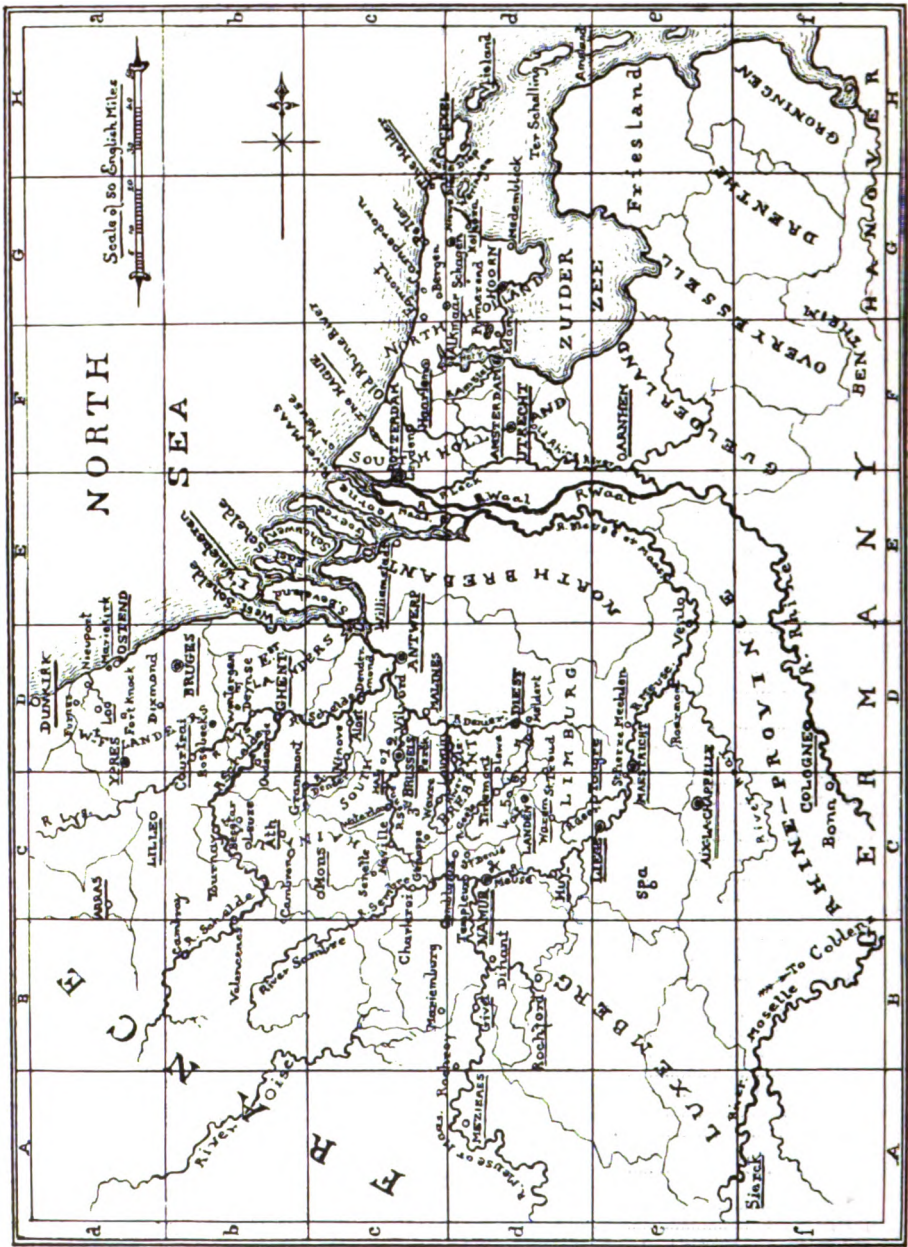
† Dom. State Papers, 5th July 1692 (o.s.), No. 4.

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TO MAP OF THE NETHERLANDS.

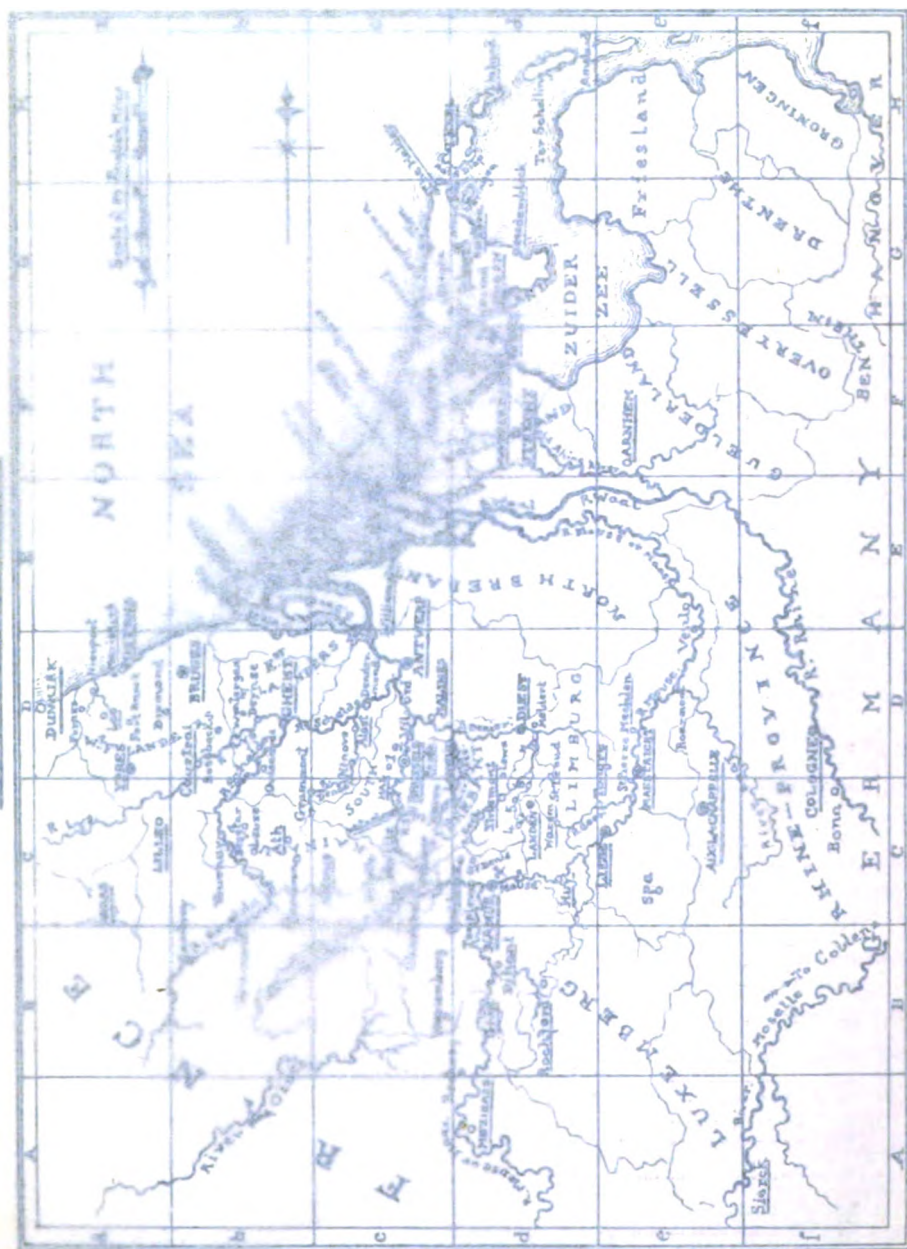
Aix la Chappelle	C. e.	Lille	C. a.
Alknax	G. d.	Loo	D. a.
Alost	D. c.	Louvain	D. d.
Amsterdam	F. a.	Lys, R.	C. a. & D. b.
Amstel, R.	F. d.		
Antwerp	D. c.	Maestricht	C. & D. c.
Arnhem	F. e.	Malines	D. c.
Arras	C. a.	Marickirk	D. a.
Ath	C. b.	Mars Diep	H. c. & d.
		Mechlen	D. e.
Becelar	C. b.	Medimblick	G. d.
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Bruges	D. b.	Mons	C. c.
Brussels	D. c.		
		Namur	C. d.
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		Orsmael (5)	C. d.
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Dender, R.	C. c.	Oudenard	D. b.
Denier, R.	D. d.		
Deynse	D. b.	Perck	D. c.
Diegham (2)	D. c.	Petten	G. c.
Diest	D. d.	Purmerend	F. d.
Dinant	B. d.		
Dixmond	D. a.	Quintin Lennik (1)	D. c.
Dunkirk	D. a.		
Dyle, R.	C. & D. d.	Rhine, R.	F. c. D. & R. f.
		Roer, R.	C. f.
Edam	F. d.	Roermond	D. e.
Egmont	G. c.	Rotterdam	F. c.
Port Knock	D. a.	Sambre, R.	B. & C. c.
Furnes	D. a.	Schelde, R.	E. b.
		Schagen	G. d.
Geer, R.	C. d. & e.	Seniffe	C. c.
Geete, R.	C. d.	Senne, R.	C. c.
Gembloux	C. d.	Sierck	A. f.
Genappe	C. c.	Soignes Forest (3)	C. c.
Ghent	D. b.	Spa	C. e.
Givet	B. b.	St. Denis	C. d.
Goeree	E. c.	St. Pierre	C. & D. e.
Grammont	C. b.	St. Troud	C. & D. d.
Haarlem	F. c.	Templeux	C. d.
Haelen (7)	D. d.	Texel	H. d.
Hague, The	F. c.	Tirlemont	C. d.
Hal	C. c.	Tongre	C. d. & e.
Helder, The	G. c.		
Hoorn	G. d.	Valencienes	B. b.
Huy	C. d.	Venlo	D. & E. e.
		Vilvord	D. c.
Kolhorn	G. d.		
		Waal, R.	E. d. e.
Laer (6)	C. d.	Walcheren	E. b.
Landen	C. d.	Warem	C. d.
Leyden	F. c.	Wavre	C. c.
Lewe	D. d.		
Liege	C. e.	Ypres	D. a.

NETHERLANDS.



[illegible]

NETHERLANDS



of the swollen state of the rivers, had the mortification to see, on the 30th June, the castle of Namur capitulate.

The Duke of Wurtemberg had made an unsuccessful attempt to retake Mons with a picked detachment of between five and six thousand men. He marched out of camp on the 3rd July, and at 1 a.m. came within three miles of Mons. Hearing, however, that the French had been apprised of the attempt and were ready to receive him he returned to the camp.

The King's position had been taken up with a design to cover Brussels from an apprehended attack of that place by Luxembourg. Their position had the forest of Soignies in their rear, and the River Dyle in their front.

In King William's Papers there is a "*Projet d'une ordre de Bataille des Troupes qu'on pouras assembler en guas (cas) de necessité et si les ennemis viennent de s'approcher de Bruxelles,*" which gives full particulars of the King's arrangements.

On the 18th the Duke of Luxembourg was at Soignies, and Boufflers was on the march towards Namur, to observe the forces of the Elector of Brandenburg. In the King's camp nothing else was talked of but that they should endeavour to recover Namur, and with this design a train of artillery was shipping at Maestricht, which gave the French great uneasiness.

The King, having determined to give the French battle, put his Army in motion. On the 22nd July he crossed the River Senne and took up his camp at Lambegue (Lembeek?). The French had advanced from Mons and encamped the night before the battle with their right resting on the village of Steenkirk, and their left near Enghien. The French Army lay on a rising ground with a wood in front, the ground on each side of the wood being interspersed with hedges and ditches all strongly held.

Early in the morning of the 24th July the Army of William was in motion. An advance was made between one and two o'clock on the right wing of the enemy towards Steenkirk by ten battalions of Foot, under the command of the Duke of Wurtemberg. The way lay through the hedges and ditches, but the advance was made with such vigour and determination that the French were driven back with great slaughter beyond their guns, which were captured. The fight soon became general, the soldiers firing "generally muzzle to muzzle," and continued for three hours. Boufflers coming up with timely reinforcements, the victorious and determined advance of the allies was checked, and William was

* Home Office, King William's Sealed Bag, 1693, No. 14.

obliged to withdraw to his former camp. The loss on both sides was very heavy. The allies lost from 3,000 to 4,000 in killed and wounded, and the French more. A great number of distinguished officers fell on both sides, amongst the English was the gallant Mackay, Lord Mountjoy, and our old and gallant friend Sir John Lanier. On the side of the French was the Duke of Maines killed, and the Duke of Luxemburg and Marquis of Boufflers wounded. The battle of Steenkirk, though not a victory for the allies, left them with an advantage, for it completely stopped the advance of the French towards Brussels. The King was bitterly disappointed at his non-success, and sitting at supper the same evening was observed to frown frequently and bite his lips, muttering "Oh, my poor English, how they were abandoned." It was reported that the Duke of Luxemburg sent word to the French King with reference to the quality of the enemy he had to fight with at Steenkirk, that "the English might be killed but not beaten," and that though they lose their lives, they sell them so dear that it would ruin all the flower of the French Army.*

The "Queen's" had been marched down to Portsmouth, and encamped there with about twenty other battalions, to be in readiness for an attempt to throw a force into France in case the Fleet were successful in destroying the French. As soon as the happy news of the battle of La Hogue reached home, preparations were made for the expedition, and 7,000 troops were embarked, including the "Queen's" regiment. About the end of June the Fleet under Sir John Ashby, sailed from Spithead, and made directly towards France. The Duke of Leinster was in command of the expeditionary troops. On nearing the coast they sailed along to Ushant and Brest, but were unable to land, as they found the French in force everywhere. Spies had given notice to the French of the intended invasion; it was therefore resolved to abandon the expedition. Accordingly, the transports returned, and joined the Fleet under Admiral Russel at Portland on the 28th July. A council of war was held next day, and they moved on to St. Helens. Another conference was held on the Fleet at Portsmouth, the Queen having sent several Lords of the Council to assist in the deliberations, when it was resolved to wait there for further orders from the King before disembarking the troops. It was not till the 17th that they left the Downs, with orders to proceed to Flanders. News had been received at home that the King had passed the Scheldt and the Lys, and had encamped on Thursday, 21st, at Grammen.

* Home Office, King William's Sealed Bag, 1693, No. 14.

He had resolved to besiege Namur, and preparations were being actively put forward for the enterprise. In view of the arrival of troops from Portsmouth he had sent Talmash with 10,000 men to join the new troops. These troops arrived on the 22nd August, landed on the 23rd (o.s.) and encamped at Marieburg, about four English miles from Ostend, where they were joined by Talmash. On the 24th, at night, the Earl of Portland came to Ostend, and had a conference with the Duke of Leinster, Lieutenant-General Talmash, and the other general officers. The forces then moved on towards Neuport, but four battalions (including the "Queen's") were ordered to take possession of the town of Furnes, a town between Neuport and Dunkirk. Early in September the four battalions in Furness were marched to Dixmund. They took possession of this place on the 7th September, and immediately set to work to fortify it.

The Duke of Leinster, with his fine body of men, was, on 1st October, still encamped near Dixmund, and the Duke de Noyelles was at Furnes with a garrison of five regiments.

The King now, seeing that nothing could be done this year, made preparations for returning home, and ordered the troops to go into winter quarters. On the 11th September some of his coaches were got ready, but he did not arrive at Loo till the 4th October. A large number of the English troops returned home to winter, part being landed in the Thames, part at Harwich, and some at Margate. Twenty-two transports conveyed them. A great storm dispersed the Fleet; each ship therefore made for the nearest port. The King held a council of war at Brussels, on his way to England, Having heard that the French had besieged Charleroi, orders were given for the march of the Army to relieve this place, but no definite action took place before the town, operations being suspended for the winter. On the 17th October the King anchored at 2 a.m. outside Yarmouth, where he designed to land.

According to an account given in a warrant for pay and contingencies, dated 9th November 1692, the "Queen's" regiment did not winter in Holland. It is there stated that the Paymaster-General paid to one Bastieuls the sum of 11,457 guilders and two stivers, without deductions, for so much disbursed and paid by him for the transportation of the regiments of Foot commanded by Colonels Wm. Selwyn, W. Beverley, and Ed. Lloyd, from Holland to England, according to particular accounts annexed.

The troops named were transported from Williamstadt, and landed at Deptford, marching from there to Portsmouth.*

* War Office Warrants for Pay and Contingencies, 1688-1693, Vols. 791, 792, P.R.O.

The following is a statement of the numbers of the companies and men, and the total cost of the regiment per diem and per annum. This is taken from a book preserved in the Horse Guards' library, and kindly shown to the author by the commanding officer:—

1st April 1692.

		Per Diem.	Per Annum.
	<i>Field and Staff Officers.</i>	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Colonel as Colonel - -	0 12 0	219 0 0
	Lieutenant-Colonel as Lieutenant-Colonel - -	0 7 0	127 15 0
	Major as Major - -	0 5 0	91 5 0
	Chaplain - -	0 6 8	121 13 4
	Adjutant - -	0 4 0	73 0 0
	Chirurgion, 4s., and one Mate, 2s. 6d. - -	0 6 6	118 12 6
	Quarter Master - -	0 4 0	73 0 0
		2 5 2	824 5 10
	<i>One Company.</i>		
	Captain - - -	0 8 0	146 0 0
	Lieutenant - - -	0 4 0	73 0 0
	Ensign - - -	0 3 0	54 15 0
	Three Sergeants at 18d. each -	0 4 6	82 2 6
	Three Corporals at 12d. each -	0 3 0	54 15 0
	Two Drummers at 12d. each -	0 2 0	36 10 0
	Sixty Private Soldiers at 8d. each -	2 0 0	730 0 0
		3 4 6	1,177 2 6
	The pay of eleven Companys more at the same Rates and Numbers	35 9 6	12,948 7 6
	<i>One Company of Granadiers belonging to this Regiment.</i>		
	Captain - - -	0 8 0	146 0 0
	Two Lieutenants each 4s. -	0 8 0	146 0 0
	Three Serjeants each 18d. -	0 4 6	82 2 6
	Three Corporals each 12d. -	0 3 0	54 15 0
	Two Drummers each 12d. -	0 2 0	36 10 0
	Sixty Granadiers at 3d. each -	2 0 0	730 0 0
		3 5 6	1,195 7 6
	Total for this Regiment -	44 4 8	16,145 3 4

The regulation for subsistence to be paid weekly to the officers and soldiers of Foot in the Low Countries was from the 1st April fixed as follows:—

For an English Regiment of Foot.

	£	s.	d.
For a Colonel	5	8	0
„ Lieutenant-Colonel	4	4	0
„ Major	3	15	0
„ Captain	1	15	0
„ Lieutenant	1	1	0
„ an Ensign	0	17	6
„ a Chaplain	1	15	0
„ an Adjutant	1	4	6
„ a Quartermaster	1	4	6
„ Chirurgion	1	4	6
„ „ Mate	0	14	0
For a Sergeant of the Guards	0	7	0
Other Sergeants	0	6	0
Corporal and Drummer of Guards	0	5	0
Other Corporals and Drummers	0	4	6
Private of the Guards... ..	0	4	0
Other Privates	0	3	6

The weekly pay of Colonel Selwyn's regiment was 225*l*.

200*l*. was paid to Colonel Selwyn for providing carriages for his regiment for the ensuing campaign.

The cost of the Queen's regiment and the quota remained the same as last year.

The estimate for the total of the forces required for this year was given to the House of Commons on 9th November 1691, and was as follows :—

Horse...	...	...	...	8,702
Dragoons	...	...	...	3,440
Foot ...	...	...	...	57,494
Total	...	...	...	<u>69,636</u>

The cost was estimated at 1,910,550*l*. 7*s*.

There is a memorandum in the establishment books "that the regiments of Foot of Selwyn, Beverley, and Lloyd were sent into England before the opening of the campaign." There is also a "List of the Forces that were carried by his Grace the Duke of Leinster into Flanders upon the intended expedition against Dunkirk, 1692," among which was Colonel Selwyn's regiment, the Queen's. Twelve of these regiments returned into England after the campaign. Colonel Selwyn's, Colonel Beverley's, and the Earl of Argyll's regiments, it is stated here, remained in Flanders, and the Prince of Hesse, and the Lord Cutt's regiments came into England with the Duke in their stead.*

* War Office Establishment Book, 1684-1692.

As soon as the preparations for the year's campaign were well forward, the King, eager to get to his troops, started for Flanders. He left Kensington on the 24th March, but finding on his arrival at Harwich that the wind was contrary, he returned to Kensington, where he stayed a few days before again leaving. He had received news from the Elector of Bavaria that the French King was expected to be at Mons on the 25th March. The first trial of skill in the campaign occurred between a detachment of Liegeois under Tilly, who were on their way to join the Confederates. Tilly was attacked in a defile by the French, and forced to retreat as far as Maestricht.

The King began his operations by concentrating his troops at a place called Antwerp Port near Ghent. He had been obliged to weaken his forces considerably in order to garrison the towns on the Meuse, principally Liège and Maestricht; a large body of troops (thirteen battalions) under the command of General Tettau were encamped, covering both those garrisons. The wretched wet and stormy weather that commenced with the campaign put a large number of men *hors de combat*. The allied Army consisted of fifty-two battalions of Foot and eighty squadrons of Horse, twenty-three of the battalions of Foot being English. The following is a list of the English troops at the commencement of the campaign :—*

HORSE.

1st, 2nd, and 3rd troops of Guards and Grenadiers.
Colonel Lumley's Horse (1st Dragoon Guards).
Lord Galway's.
Colonel Langston's (4th Dragoon Guards).
Colonel Wood, late Lord Berkeley (3rd Dragoon Guards).
Duke of Schomberg's (7th Dragoon Guards).
Colonel Wyndham's Dragoons.
Earl of Essex's Dragoons (4th Dragoons).

FOOT.

Eighteen companies of Foot Guards.
Seven companies of Coldstreams.
Regiment of Scots Guards.
Royal Scots (the 1st Royals).
Colonel Selwyn's (the 2nd Queen's).
Colonel Churchill's (the 3rd Buffs).
Colonel Trelawney's (4th King's Own).
Colonel Offarel's (21st).
Sir Charles Graham's.
Colonel Lauder's.
Colonel Mackay's.

* Hamilton's Guards, Vol. I., p. 371.

Colonel Maitland's (25th).
Colonel Ferguson's (26th).
Colonel Erle's (19th).
Regiment of Fusiliers.
Sir Bevil Grenville's.
Colonel Tidcomb's.
Colonel Hon. James Stanley's (16th).
Lord Castleton's.
Colonel Collingwood's.
Earl of Argyll's.
Colonel Pitt's Company of Miners.

The total number of the forces, including the Dutch and Danish troops, amounting to about 22,650 Horse and 38,200 Foot.

By the 15th of May the major part of the troops arrived at the camp at Antwerp Port. The Confederates were assembling at a place called Diegham, between Louvain and Brussels. To enable the two forces to march and join hands, two bridges were built over the Scheldt.

The French Army, estimated at 118,000, was divided into two Army corps. The first, commanded by the Duke of Luxemburg, encamped at Givry near Mons, and the second, commanded by the famous Marshal Boufflers, was divided into two portions, one rendezvoused at a place called Ypres, and the other at La Trinité between Aeth and Courtray. About the middle of May Boufflers broke up his camp at La Trinité, and marched to join Luxemburg at Mons. A few days after, the Duke of Wurtemberg, commanding the camp at Antwerp Port, marched towards Brussels to join the Confederates at their camp at Diegham, where William had arrived on the 12th May. The "Queen's" regiment, with the two battalions of the First Royals and Stanley's regiment, joined the forces at Diegham on the 16th May.*

These regiments had been marched towards Diegham from their winter quarters, and were ordered to be quartered in the villages about Diegham, and to continue there until further orders "by reason of the extraordinary rains." They arrived on Saturday, the 21st, and joined the camp about the 26th or 27th May.†

The King arrived in Diegham on Friday, May 19th, and took up his quarters in a house belonging to the Prince of Taxis, about five miles from Brussels, and one from Vilvorde. On his arrival, hearing that it was the intention of the French to get into Brabant, he ordered the camp of the Confederates to be moved from Diegham to Parck covering Louvain. At Parck the Duke of Wurtemberg

* *Auvergne's Wars in Flanders*, p. 7.

† *London Gazette*, 25th May.

and also General Talmash, with the brigade of Guards, joined the forces.

The movements of William's Army covering Louvain frustrated the intended move of the French in Brabant. King Louis thereupon decided to send a force to assist Marshal d'Orge on the Rhine, detaching from his Army twenty-seven battalions of Foot and forty-seven squadrons of Horse for this purpose.

The French forces at this time, the beginning of June, were encamped at Meldert near Tirlemont. A large wood, called Meldert Wood, lay between the two camps, covering the left wing of the allies' Horse. The French took possession of a cloister of Benedictine monks situated near the middle of the wood, and as they were able to keep a strong detachment of troops there, which threatened the left of the allies, the King pushed a strong force, consisting of six battalions, on the heights and amongst the defiles of Birbeck, which commanded the passage to the English camp, with a reserve of the Danish batteries between this part and the left wing of Horse.

The thick close wood that lay between the two Armies gave opportunity for desertions, which the soldiers of both Armies availed themselves of to a great extent. Amongst the King's troops, it was the Irish Catholics, who were said to have been worked upon by the Irish priests of Louvain. These priests were said by writers of the campaigns in Flanders to have "been very busy to alienate the soldiers' affections from his Majesty's service."

Cases of desertion and fraudulent enlistment occurred both before and after Landen. Best, a private in Captain Culliford's company of the "Queen's," enlisted in Colonel Wyndham's Horse, strangely enough, he was not punished but only ordered to rejoin the "Queen's." At the same court-martial that tried Best, Private Hugh McQueney was tried for threatening death to his sergeant he was found guilty, but being allowed to escape, the sergeant of the guard was tried and sentenced to "be in irons fourteen days."

The King, who was apprehensive of a movement of the French on his left, kept careful watch as far as Leuwe on the Little Gheet.

While the two Armies lay watching each other all the month of June, the troops of the allies made two sorties from the garrison of Charleroy on the French encamped near Mons, inflicting some loss in the first, but failing to capture a convoy of the enemy in the second, which was the object of the sortie. The French on their side harassed our troops from the Meldert Wood, and captured a large number of horses.

On the 28th June, Luxemburg, finding it impracticable to attack the Confederates, and being in great want of provisions (which William had obtained for his troops from Holland), resolved to break up his camp. At 1 a.m. on the 28th, he began his retreat, and so well did he manage it, that the first intimation King William had, was the sight of the flames rising from the deserted camp. The King at once put his troops on to the rear of the French, but was too late to stop the movement.

He then sent a strong detachment under the Duke of Wurtemberg, consisting of thirteen battalions (two being English, Bath and Argyle regiments), and forty squadrons to West Flanders, as he had heard that the French had sent some of their troops from there into Germany. The detachment arrived at Oudenard, on the Scheldt, on the 3rd July. On the 6th, Wurtemberg was joined at D'Oignies by Ellenbergh, with 13 battalions. The Artillery consisted of 12 guns. Here they found the French well posted between the Lys and the Scheldt.

The Duke quickly made his dispositions, and though the troops had had a most exhausting march of eight days, and in the most fearful weather, so well did they behave, that the French were soon driven from their lines at D'Oignies, in full retreat towards Tournay, Wurtemberg having his quarters in the same house that the defeated French Commander, the Marquis de la Valette, had occupied. This action took place on the 8th July.

The French Army, after leaving Meldert, advanced to Heylessen, but Luxemburg, hearing that Count Cerclaes, of Lilly, general of the Liège troops, was encamped near Tongres, with eight regiments of Horse, intending to join the King, he made a forced march, and nearly succeeded in capturing him, the Count only escaping with the loss of some of his baggage. Luxemburg now moved on to Huy, which he invested, and, after a short defence, captured. The French then turned their attention to Liège, but William, who had heard of the investment of Huy, and fearing an attack on Liège, had moved out of his Camp at Parck, on the 10th July, going towards Tirlemont.

On the next day he arrived at Neerhespen, having crossed both the Gheet streams.

On the 12th the Army rested, and the next day continued its march to Hesperlingen. Here it halted, with its right wing on St. Sion, and its left near Tongres. News was received soon after the arrival of the troops at Hesperlingen of the capitulation of Huy, and that Luxemburg was on the march to invest Liège. Upon this the King detached a force of 10 battalions, under the command

of Brigadier Swerin, to reinforce that garrison, sending also three battalions to Maestricht. He then returned to Neerhespen. The Duke of Luxemburg had encamped his Army at Hellick, with his right not far from Liège.

On the 17th Luxemburg decided to march to attack the King. Orders were given for the camp to be struck, and all to be in readiness to march as soon as it was daylight. Accordingly, on the 18th, when day broke, the Army of the French King left their camp in four columns, two of Infantry in the centre, the flanks held by the Cavalry. The distance from the French camp to the camp of William at Neerhespen was between six and seven leagues.

On arriving at Warem, Luxemburg learnt that the allies were still in their camp at Neerhespen. He therefore halted, to enable his Foot to complete the passage of the Jecker, while he advanced with the right wing of horse as far as Avernas. The French leader gallantly pushed on with his troops, until he came in sight of William's camp, and with the full intention, in case his advance had forced William to retire, of falling, with the whole body of his right wing of Horse, on the rear of the Confederate Army. He found, however, that the English King and his allies had resolved to receive the attack where they were; he therefore spent the remainder of the day in concentrating his troops at or near Landen. King William had strong reconnoitring parties of horse constantly out, who had obtained news of the advance of the French, and before the day was over saw their advanced guard. The King at once made his dispositions to receive them, rightly calculating that it was his duty to meet the French here, for a retreat would have laid Brabant and its defenceless towns open to an attack, whilst a defence here, even if he may be beaten, would cripple the French for other great issues. William had also as a reserve, the Duke of Wurtemberg's Army flushed with the successes they had won in West Flanders.

To make his position as secure as possible, he ordered 30 men from each battalion to throw up an entrenchment right along the front from Neerlanden to Neerwinden, which latter village was on the extreme right and separated from the village of Laer by a small stream. The defence on the right of the position was entrusted to, 1st, General Ramsay's Brigade, comprised of five battalions, Offerel's, Mackay's, Lauder's, Leven's, and Monroe's. They were posted on the extreme right, just in front of the right wing of Horse, their duty being to hold some hedge and covered ways upon the right of the village of Laer. 2nd, the Brandenburg Brigade, commanded by Prince Charles of Brandenburg,

composed of six battalions. They were posted covering the village of Laer, a little to the left. 3rd, the Hanover Brigade, commanded by General Du Mont, comprising six battalions, was posted covering Neerwinden. Upon the left of the position at Neerlanden, William placed the two battalions of the 1st Royals, the 2nd "Queen's" (Selwyn's), 3rd Buff's (Churchill's), and the 4th regiment (Trelawney's), Prince Frederick's battalion of Danes, and Fagel's regiment. Upon the approach of the French, William had thrown back his left, so as to be covered on that flank by the stream called Beck. The allied position having thus both its flanks thrown back, and the front, which was open, covered by the hasty entrenchments which had been thrown up.

The King, who had remained on his horse the whole day and until late in the evening, making his arrangements and seeing to everything personally, took at last a little rest in his carriage.

At sunrise in the morning the whole French Army were seen drawn up in front of the allied position, with their right resting on Landen, and their left behind the village of Oberwinden. The allies at once opened fire upon the French with their Artillery, which played upon the troops from both flanks as well as from the entrenchments in front. At six o'clock the French advanced to attack the entrenchments in front with determined bravery, but were met with such a terrible fire from the men who lined the trenches, as well as from the Artillery, that they faced about and retired. Again they advanced, and again that terrible overwhelming fire drove them back, whole battalions being destroyed, and the plain in front of the entrenchments covered with the dead and dying. Luxemburg, now finding it impossible to carry the position by a direct front attack, ordered six brigades to march to the left, and endeavour to penetrate into the allies' position on their right, by the villages of Laer and Neerwinden.

This flank movement was completed by eight o'clock. Lieutenant-General Rubaut commanded the right of the attack, Montchevreuil the left, with the Duke of Berwick, Sarsfield (Lord Lucan), and Baron Bussey as major-generals. William, foreseeing that this overwhelming force must overcome the six battalions he had there, brought up in all haste a brigade of Guards, consisting of the first battalion of the first regiment and the second battalions of the Dutch and Scots Guards.

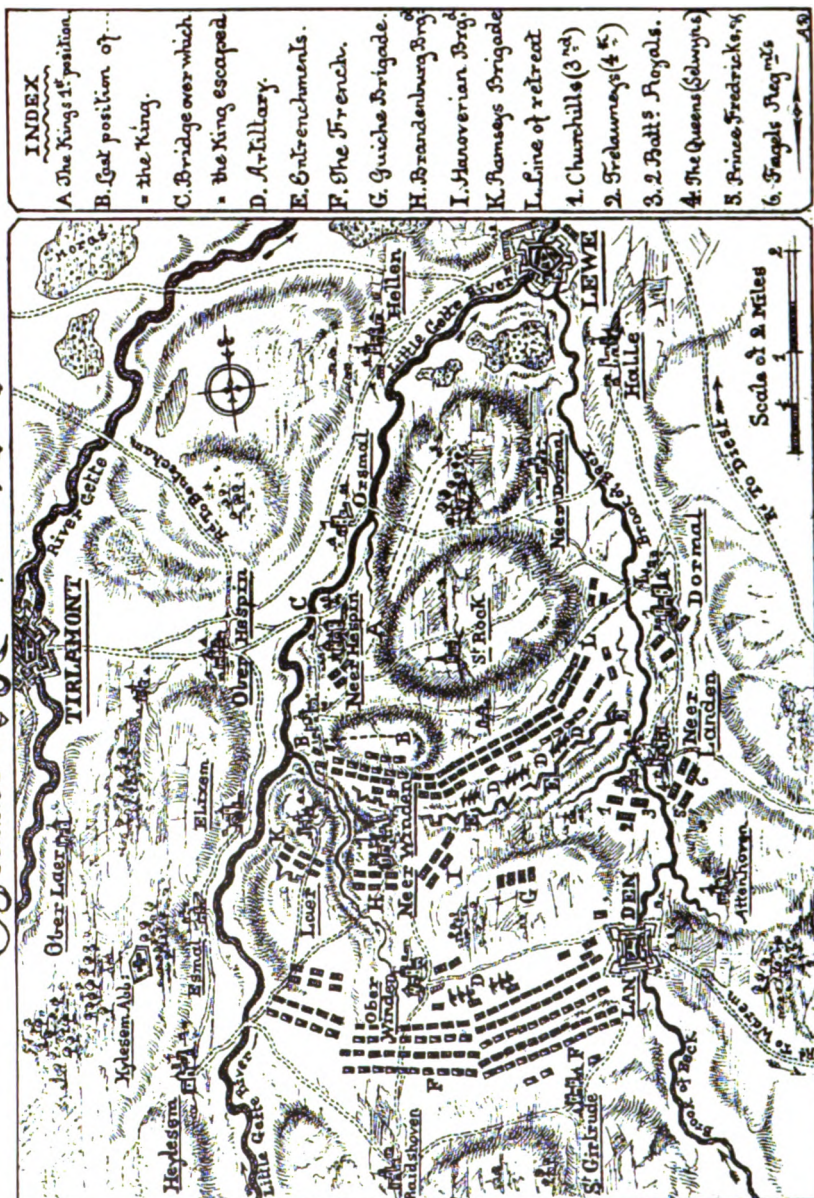
Ramsay's brigade on the extreme right had also been strengthened by Churchill's and Trelawney's regiments, drawn from the left of the line at Neerlanden. The enemy advanced to the attack on the right through the villages of Laer and Neerwinden, with the greatest resolution, driving back the first battalion of Guards.

These quickly rallied, and, being reinforced with the one of the second battalions in the brigade, halted, advanced, and rolled back the assault. The Duke of Bourbon soon came to the assistance of the French with the brigade of Quicke, the allies being forced back by sheer weight of numbers. While this was going on, Ramsay had been attacked with the whole French reserve of Dragoons, supported by some French Infantry, and was forced back. Our Cavalry, led by the Elector of Bavaria at this critical juncture, charged so resolutely upon the advancing enemy that Ramsay was enabled to again roll back the tide. The King, seeing the Guards and Hamilton retreating, rallied them, and the whole force of the allies again pressing back the French regained their former positions. The losses of the French at this period were enormous, the Duke of Berwick, and his aid-de-camp, Achmaughty, being taken prisoners.

The Duke, in his memoirs, gives an interesting account of the capture and the events of the day. He relates that, having been ordered by Lieutenant-Generals de Rubaut and Montchevreuil to begin the attack, he was to attack the village of Neerwinden, and Rubaut and Montchevreuil the entrenchments on the right and left of the village. As the village projected into the plain and the brigades marched "abreast" of each other, Berwick's troops came into action first. At first he gained some little ground, but Rubaut's brigades, instead of following their orders and in order to save themselves from losses by the fire from the entrenchments on the right and left of the village, threw themselves into the village, getting thus into Berwick's rear.

"The allies seeing this ill-conducted manœuvre, re-entered the village by the right and left, upon which a terrible fire commenced, and the four brigades under Rubaut (or Rebautel) and Montchevreuil were thrown into confusion and driven out of the village." Berwick, in consequence of this, found himself attacked on all sides. He was ultimately obliged to abandon the front of the village, and was completely cut off. His attempt to escape should be told in his own words. "I resolved to escape if possible, and having taken out my white cockade, passed for an officer of the enemy. Unfortunately Brigadier Churchill, brother to Lord Churchill, now Duke of Marlborough, and my uncle, came up, and recollecting the only aide-de-camp I had with me, suspected immediately that I might be there, and advancing to me, made me his prisoner. After mutual salutations, he told me he must conduct me to the 'Prince of Orange.' The Prince made me a very polite compliment, to which I only replied by a low bow. After looking steadfastly at me for an instant, he put on his

Battle of Lenden, 1693



Compiled from Letters de Madame Sevigné, Vol. 10, p. III. (177, 179, 180, 181), Print Room, B.M.

Hist. Militaire de Flandres, Beureau de J. B.M.

Noerwinden, Frankfurt, 1693 (1) Library, B.M.

Tonnel der Oosteyrke, Nederlanden, 1789, B.M.

Carte Chorographique de la Belgique, en Soixante neuf, Ferraris (141, 31), Lib., B.M.

Carte de la Belgique Capitale et Chaulaire, B.M.

Carte de la Belgique d'après Ferraris (301, 18), B.M.

Carte Topographique de la Belgique, P. Gerard and P. Vandermaelin.

Maps—F. 33, p. 5, F. 33, p. 6, B.M.

and Author's MSS.

hat, and I mine; he then ordered me to be carried to Lewe."*

The King's forces, though they retook Laer and Neerwinden, could not entirely drive the French back from the outermost hedges; for though the English and their allies had brought all their Foot into action, the French had still reserves by which they were able to keep a grip on the position. In the French account of the fight here they assert that considerable reinforcements came up to the allies; not a man, however, could be spared from the entrenchments, and the troops that so bravely and resolutely rallied and regained the positions were the same, though sadly reduced in numbers, that had been driven back by the masses of the enemy.

Luxemburg now attempted to turn the left of the allied position at Nerland-n. The forces here, as will be remembered, had been weakened by the withdrawal of Churchill's and Trelawney's regiments (the 3rd and 4th) to strengthen the right, and now consisted of only four battalions, viz., one battalion of the 1st Royals, Se'wyn's (the Queen's), Prince Frederick's, and Fagel's regiment.† This small force had to resist the furious onslaught of four brigades, viz., the Bourbonnais, Lyonnais, Anjou, and Artois, "King James' Guards being amongst them." The village, which appears to have been held by the 1st Royals, was attacked with the greatest fury by the French, while four French regiments of Dragoons passed the Beck to assist in the efforts to turn the King's left flank.‡ For a time they were held back by the determined resistance of the Royals, who poured in their shot on the advancing columns, throwing also their grenades from the windows of the houses with such direful effect, that the streets were soon filled with the dead and dying. Still the French pressed on, and the "Royals" were at last forced back. As they retired they set fire to the house that had been occupied by their Grenadiers. The King, who had on seeing the attempt to break through his lines transferred to the left, galloped across to assist, took up his position with the "Queen's" regiment, who now advanced to the assistance

* Berwick's Memoirs, Vol. I., p. 114.

† There is some confusion in the account of the number of regiments here. At the beginning of the battle there were seven regiments, two battalions of Royals, and the second, third, fourth, Prince Frederick's, and Fagel's regiments. The third and fourth were drawn to the right, leaving five regiments, but the account at this period only gives four, so it would appear as if one battalion of the Royals had been removed.

‡ Mackennon's History of the Coldstream Guards, pp. 232, 233, and Relation of the Battle of Landen (London, Savoy, 1693).

of the "Royals." The two battalions with renewed vigour threw themselves against the advancing troops, the struggle becoming desperate. Now the two other battalions advanced, and the French, after two hours of fighting, were hurled back, being pursued by the "Queen's" regiment right through the village and defile and into the plain. The successes having been up to this point all on the side of the allies, the fight now lulled a little, the French keeping up still a faint fire on Neerwinden.

Luxemburg had, unfortunately for the allies, still got his reserves, and they at last decided the fortunes of the day. These reserves were considerable, and consisted of the French and Swiss Guards, the Swiss Brigade of Zurlandy and Zurbeck, and were quite fresh and unbroken. With this reserve the French Commander resolved to make another advance on Neerwinden.

This last attack, led by the Prince of Conti, though fiercely resisted, was at last successful, and the French possessed themselves of the avenues of the village, their Horse breaking through into the English camp.

An excellent account is given in the *Histoire Militaire de Flandre*, by the Chevalier de Beaurain, of the Battle of Landen. In describing the last and successful attack of the French Commander, he gives great credit to the indomitable resolution of Luxemburg to obtain possession of Neerwinden and Laer, which was the key to King William's position.

In relating the closing scenes of the fight, he writes, that the remainder of the fourth line, who had advanced to the attack, consisted of troops who had up to this period of the fight taken no part in it. Its strength was thirteen battalions. This force was now sent against the wearied troops of William, who had so gallantly and determinately held on to the villages. The Swiss Guards advanced against the entrenchments on the plain and that part of the village of Neerwinden near the plain, while the French Guards attacked the villages.

The Brigade Philippeaux, under the command of Villeroy, was in reserve, and was ordered to enter the entrenchments immediately the allies were driven out. De Finguières, with a party of Infantry, was also to enter the entrenchments of the plain as soon as possible after the assault, the Cavalry being also under his orders. Some Infantry that had been in the two defeated attacks, were ordered to be in readiness with some Cavalry to penetrate into the roads and passes on the right of the allies' position.

It was about mid-day when the French Commanders' dispositions were complete. King William had noted the preparations for the final attack on his right, and as quickly as possible withdrew a

force from his left flank, making a flanking line with these troops, the right resting on the village of Wauge, and the left towards the middle of the trenches of the plain. This counter movement of William was observed by the enemy, and De Finguières, with a considerable force of Cavalry and Infantry, was sent to take advantage of the exposed left of the allies. The French Guards were the first to arrive, and made themselves masters of the front of the villages, soon after the Swiss Guards were into and over the entrenchments against Neerwinden, the Cavalry following quickly. Finding themselves, however, under the fire of five battalions of the allies they could not advance, and began to waver.

King William immediately profited by this, and made preparations to attack the Swiss in front and in flank. Luxemburg at once perceived his danger, and quickly brought up the French Guards on to the right of the Swiss, stopping the counter stroke and making the way open for the advance of the French Cavalry. It was at this juncture that the Hanoverian Cavalry made a poor defence, if it was a defence at all, and in a short time the enemy's Cavalry were in through both right and left of the villages, and the fight was over.*

As the Horse came into the camp by Neerwinden, they extended to their left, but were charged by the Bavarian Horse, led by Count d'Arco, and driven back on to their Foot. Another attempt was now made by the allies to regain Neerwinden, but it failed, principally, it is alleged in some papers,† in consequence of the poor defence of the Bavarians. R. Wolseley, writing to the Earl of Nottingham, asserts that it was entirely through their disobedience of the King's orders that the French got through a pass the Hanoverians had been put to guard "without so much as firing a pistol or advancing one step to oppose them." By allowing the French to get through this gap, our men were outflanked and put in disorder in a moment. The Brandenburgers also, it appears, failed in their duty, an order having been sent by one of the King's aides-de-camp to a commander of one of these battalions to charge a body of the enemy advancing, but he refused to move, and threatened to shoot the officer if he did not retire.

In letters‡ sent home giving accounts of the fight, it is related that the allies bravely held the position against repeated attacks

* *Histoire Militaire de Flandre*, Le Chevalier de Beaurain, pp. 294-296.

† *Flanders*, 1689-1693, No. 127, August 2nd, P.R.O.

‡ *Luttrell's Diary*, Vol. III., pp. 145, 146.

until about four in the afternoon, when the French forced a difficult pass guarded by the Brandenburgians, who, "being newly raised men, gave way," and the King, seeing that pass lost, at once sounded a retreat.

The French now poured through the opening they had gained, and though the King gallantly twice led up the English battalions to the attack it was all in vain. At this juncture the Marquis of Hartcourt arrived to the assistance of the French with twenty-two squadrons from Huy, and dismounting some of his Dragoons soon cleared the village of Laer. The French were now in full possession of the camp, and the retreat of the allies became general. Fortunately the King had, early in the day, secured the retreat of the main body of his troops (sending off also all his baggage) by guarding with some of his Horse the passage by the Brook Beck to Darmal, towards which the main body of the allies retreated in good order. The right wing, which had been pressed on all sides with overwhelming numbers and having suffered from the failure of the Hanoverians and the Brandenburg troops to support them, retreated in disorder, pressed heavily by the French Horse. Many of the Horse and Foot were drowned in crossing the river, the King having barely time to escape over the bridge at Neerhespin.

Lieutenant-General Talmash took charge of the retreat of the main body of the Foot by Darmal. He and Sir Henry Bellasis got great credit for their skill in this difficult and dangerous task, bringing the broken Army safely and with slight loss to Lewe. There is no doubt had the French pursuit been a determined one, it would have been disastrous for the allies, but though they remained masters of the field, it had been gained at such a terrible loss that they had no heart to pursue a still dangerous and determined foe. Part of the troops encamped that night at Boutechem, near Tirlemont, and those that retreated by Darmal camped at Diest. The King took up his quarters at Boutechem, and before he rested sent off despatches to the Duke of Wurtemberg with orders to at once join the King's forces, informing him at the same time of the disasters of the day.

The losses of the Confederates were computed at about 6,000 killed and wounded, while the French were reported to have had 17,000 men put *hors de combat* by this terrible day's fighting. The 2nd Queen's losses were Captain Collins, Lieutenants Campbell and Price, and Ensign Burt killed, Captain Sandys, and 100 men wounded.

The total losses of the English troops as ascertained later was as follows :—

Horse officers	...	...	59
Foot „	...	...	97
Troopers	...	...	472
Foot soldiers	...	...	2,467
			<u>3,095</u>

This is besides the loss sustained by our allies. The English took fourteen standards and fifteen colours.*

The London Gazette of 29th July gives very nearly the same account of the numbers of troops killed and wounded, but makes the total number of standards and colours taken as fifty-five, and the number of prisoners taken as 400, including thirty-two French officers.

A later return gives the total number of Confederate losses at Landen as—

OFFICERS.			
Killed	...	...	214
Wounded	...	...	296
			<u>510</u>
MEN.			
Killed	...	...	5,791
Wounded	...	...	3,662
			<u>9,453</u>

or about 10,000 in all.

The French King Louis, when informed of his victory, ordered the Te Deum to be sung in the Cathedrale Nôtre Dame, and in his letter to the Archbishop of Paris, dated from Marly, 7th August, Louis calls the hasty entrenchments that had been thrown up by the Confederates “formidable works,” considerably magnifying the strength of the position. King William behaved with great resolution and bravery, and it is possible that a different result might have been obtained had the Hanoverians and Brandenburgers fought with the courage and tenacity of the British troops. The King, being with the 2nd “Queen’s” regiment when they advanced to the assistance of their old comrades in the Tangier’s fights, was a witness of their daring and dash, his presence, no doubt, adding greatly

* Luttrell’s Diary, Vol. III., p. 157.

to their enterprise. While waiting in reserve when the French advanced and engaged the Royals in the village, the "Queen's," perhaps under the direction of the King, who was near them, seeing a place where the enemy's Horse might get through, cut down trees and raised up a formidable obstruction, which not only hindered the advance of the Horse, but also made a cover for the troops.

The King charged at the head of Horse and Foot several times during the day, and "exposed his own person to as much danger as any on the field." A proof of this was his having a bullet through his perriwig and another through his sash.*

The French lost a number of distinguished officers, in killed and wounded, including the brave and heroic Sarsfield, our old enemy in Ireland, who died of the serious wounds received in the fight. The Duke of Berwick, natural son of King James, was taken prisoner. Some accounts† of the terrible struggle of this day aver that the Duke was taken in an attempt, with fourteen other desperate men, to kill William, but the most careful historian‡ of the day makes no allusion to this.

The Duke of Ormond, charging gallantly at the head of Lumley's squadrons, had his horse shot from under him, and was about to be killed by a French soldier, when an officer of the French Guard rescued him and made him a prisoner. He was afterwards exchanged for the Duke of Berwick, who had surrendered to Churchill.§

Luxemburgh was so crippled that he could take no advantage of his victory. The day following he retired to Waren, and ordered Boufflers to rejoin him at once, at the same time directing the Normandy and Brittany troops to concentrate and reinforce him, so weakened was he by his heavy losses. He remained fifteen days at Waren. On the 5th of August he marched towards Nivelle, and, being joined by his reinforcements, he lay siege to Charleroi, opening his trenches before it on the 5th of September. The town, after a vigorous resistance, capitulated on the 1st of October.

The Duke of Wurtemberg, when he received the King's command to join him with all speed, had advanced to within a short distance of Lille. He immediately began his march, and arrived at Alost on the 23rd of July. Here he received an order to wait at Alost until further orders.

* Historical MSS. Commission, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part VII., p. 333.

† Luttrell's Diary, Vol. III., p. 15.

‡ D'Auvergne.

§ Collings' Peerage, No. 9., p. 131.

The King found his forces in much better condition than he expected, but the reverse he had met with at Landen, made it imperative that he should be joined by Wurtemberg, the two at last uniting at Wernel. On the 2nd of August they advanced to Quentin Lenneck, near Ninove. On the 5th the King reviewed the united forces, and marched to Hal.

Though he was now stronger and in better condition than at Landen, he still felt himself unable to help the garrison of Charleroi, as Luxemburg had been reinforced, and had now over 100 battalions. William, therefore, resolved to make an attack on Furness, where there was a garrison of 5,000 French. For this purpose, having returned to Quentin Lenneck, he detached, on the 7th of September, the Elector of Bavaria with a force of fifty squadrons and thirty regiments, but learning that Luxemburg had moved his Army nearer Mons with the evident intention of attacking him in his weakened condition, he ordered the Elector to return. The Armies united again at Vivorde, near Brussels, on the 12th of September.

This was the end of the year's campaign. The allies immediately after separated for their winter quarters. Selwyn's (the "Queen's"), with the Guards, taking up their quarters at the same place as last winter at Ghent.

Several cases of desertion, in the "Queen's" and other regiments, were tried by courts martial while the Army remained at Quentin Lenneck. Two men of the "Queen's" were found guilty and condemned to death, the King approving the proceedings of the court martial.

On the 25th August (N.S.) the King issued an order commanding the officers to use their utmost endeavours to put down swearing in the Army, "first by abstaining themselves from all oaths and execrations, and so giving a good example to their soldiers." * While the Army was at Quentin Lenneck recruits arrived from England, ninety of whom were allotted to the "Queen's."

On the 6th September the King sent a warrant to Viscount Sidney, Master-General of the Ordnance, condemning 1,297 firelocks and muskets that had been issued out of the Dutch magazines, and ordering them to be replaced by a like number out of the English magazines at Brussels. Eight hundred and eighty-five firelocks were also ordered to be given to the recruits lately sent from England.

On the 23rd September the King sent a warrant from the camp at Ninove, giving the names of officers who were to be allowed

* War Office, Dutch Miscellany Book, 1693-1695, July and August.

to be absent from their commands during the winter. In the "Queen's," Captains Phillips, Laton, Boismorel, and Bickerstaff; Lieutenants Arnott, Lorally, Casles (or Carles), and Baker; and Ensigns Hamilton and Sands were allowed to go home on leave. The War Minister, Blathwayt, issued orders that no money was to be taken by the captains of the packet boats for the passage to England, but they were required to see that all had their certificates of leave, and that they were properly signed.*

It is stated in an account in some Irish papers that the regiment was brought over to England at the end of the campaign. On the 15th March the following year 1,671*l.* was paid to one Lieutenant-Admiral Bastiaener for the "cost of bringing over from Wilhelmstadt to the River of Thames" in the ships *Brotherly Love*, *Church of Haarlem*, and *Catherine*, three regiments of Foot commanded by Colonels Wm. Selwyn, John Sidcombe, and Colonel Edward Lloyd.

The arrears due to officers of the regiment appears in many cases to have caused distress to the survivors of these officers. In this year appears a petition of Mrs. Cullyford, wife of Major Cullyford for the arrears due to the late Captain Webster, who died during the Irish campaign. The money was required for the support of the children of Captain Webster, who, it appears from the petition, had married a daughter of Major Cullyford.†

At the end of this year's campaign various regulations were issued as to maintenance and rations in winter quarters. The value of a ration in the "Queen's" regiment is given as six stivers. Sixty rations of forage was allowed to each battalion in winter quarters in the following proportion, viz., colonel, twelve rations; lieutenant-colonel, seven; major, seven; ten captains, three to each, and one each to captain, adjutant, quartermaster, and surgeon.

A warrant was issued on the 20th August to the Paymaster-General for payments to the widows of Captain Collins, Lieutenant Price, and Lieutenant Campbell of the following sums, viz., Captain Collins, 30*l.*, Lieutenant Price, 20*l.*, and Lieutenant Campbell, 20*l.*, of Selwyn's regiment, in consideration of the loss of their husbands, who were killed at the Battle of Landen.

King William landed from Holland on Tuesday the 31st October, at 3 p.m., at Harwich. After staying one night at Colchester he came the next day to London. A few days afterwards he dined in private with Lord Newport and the Dukes of Hamilton and Ormond, General Talmash, Lord Colchester, and other officers.

* War Office, Dutch Miscellany Book, 1693-1695.

† Calendar of Treasury Papers, XXIII., No. 55.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE WAR IN THE NETHERLANDS.

1694.

CONTENTS.—Review of Political Parties—Appointment of Whig Ministry—Initiation of Bank of England—King reviews Troops on Blackheath—Attack on French coasts resolved upon—General Talmash commands the Expedition to Brest—Failure through Treachery—Talmash wounded to death—Return of Expedition to England—King leaves for Holland—His orders for commencement of Campaign—Troops rendezvous at Marykirk—Sir David Collier left behind with eight Battalions (including the “Queen’s”) to guard Convoy of Artillery Stores—Collier encamps near Ghent—King takes up his quarters at Abbey of Bethlehem—Manœuvres of the opposing Forces for position—Collier joins the main Army with his Brigades—Strength of French Forces—Strength of the Confederates—The “Queen’s” in first line on the Right next Brigade of Guards—Composition of the Brigades—Collier’s Brigades reviewed by the King—The “Queen’s” Regiment posted between Louvain and Tirlemont—Warrants as to precedence of Regiments—The French Army moves to Tron from their post on the Mehaigne—Boufflers crosses the Meuse at Huy and encamps along the Jaer—King makes a reconnaissance of French position—French move towards Tongres to attack Maestricht—King marches his Army from Rosebeck to the Mehaigne—French retreat—King threatens Courtrai—Manœuvres to divide the French Army into two portions and away from Huy—Investment and fall of Huy—End of Campaign—Return of the King to England—Death of Queen Mary—Officers of “Queen’s” sent home on Recruiting duty. King prorogues Parliament and departs for Holland—Villeroy arrives to command French Army—Letter to Colonel Selwyn to get Recruits ready for Transport—Elector of Bavaria sent to hinder French throwing up Entrenchments to cover their position—Earl of Athlone sent towards Brussels—Disposition and Strength of Confederates—Strength of French—Confederates rendezvous at Marienkirk—King joins them at Deynse—King advances towards Ypres—Camps at Becelar—Manœuvres to get Villeroy away from Namur—King invests Namur—Boufflers gets into the Town—Villeroy marches against Prince Vaudemont—Clever retreat of Vaudemont to Ghent—Villeroy threatens Brussels—Siege and Capture of the Town of Namur—King sends Troops to aid Vaudemont—Villeroy retreats from before Brussels—Attempts to out-manœuvre the King before Namur—Capture of the Citadel of Namur—Boufflers capitulates and is made Prisoner—Terms of Capitulation—End of Campaign—King reviews his Army and returns to England—Strength of “Queen’s” Regiment—Petitions of Officers’ Widows—Strength of Forces in Flanders—Quarters of Regiments.

THE last year had ended badly for the allies, and though King William had hindered the French from making any

permanent advance into the Spanish Netherlands, yet the loss of the frontier towns of Charleroi, Namur, and Huy on the Maes or Meuse, and of Mons on the Scheldt, had necessarily weakened the hold of the allies and strengthened that of their powerful and enterprising enemy. King William had made arrangements with the Parliament for his supplies, but had been compelled by intrigues to reconstitute the council of his ministers. He resolved to try and carry on his Government through the party which had mainly accomplished the revolution. The Earl of Sunderland had become the confidential adviser of the King, and urged him to trust more to the Whigs than he had done, reminding him that though the Tories were better friends to the monarchy than his party, yet he was to consider that "he was not their monarch."* Amongst the members of William's new Ministry was the famous statesman Shrewsbury and the poet Charles Montague, whose financial abilities and commanding eloquence was to be so useful as Chancellor of Exchequer in the new administration.

The new Ministry, strong in its Whig majority, boldly asked for a large supply of men and armaments for carrying on the war.

The initiation of that great national institution, the Bank of England, which has from its beginning been of such service to the country, was one of the first acts of the new Government, and which for ever put an end to the undignified borrowing on the part of the nation of small and petty sums whenever money was required in advance of the payments of Revenue. There is a letter to the King in the Home Office Papers, dated 5th June, informing him that the Queen had that morning in Council Chamber signed the warrant for taking subscriptions to the Bank. The member who writes, whose name is not stated, fears that no money will be ready by the Bank scheme till 1st August. On the 3rd July he writes again to the King, informing him that that evening the "Land Bank" had made a proposal in form to the Treasury to raise the whole sum of 2,564,000*l.* for a premium of 300,000*l.*, about 12 per cent. In his first letter he wrote that he feared the money would not come so fast as the bare subsistence of the troops would want it.† The fears of the writer seem to have been realised, for several sums of 10,000*l.* and 20,000*l.* were with difficulty raised during this and next month. On 18th September a short abstract of the funds applicable to the Army is given. The total of these sums was 442,000*l.*‡ The number of troops asked for and granted by Parliament was 83,000, and,

* Burnet's Oxford Edition, Vol. IV., p. 5.

† Home Office, King William's Sealed Bag, 1694-1695, No. 15.

‡ Ibid.

in view of operations intended on the French coast, the naval estimates were largely increased.

On Tuesday, 27th March (o.s.), the King went to Greenwich. After dining with the Duke of Dorset he reviewed on Blackheath some Cavalry and Artillery which had been ordered to Flanders. The next day he announced his intention of going to Flanders on the 14th of next month. He had ordered to be got ready for service at Flanders (as soon as Parliament had sanctioned the year's supplies) nine more regiments of Foot, four regiments of Dragoons, Colonels Coy's and Villier's Horse, Lord Portland's regiment of Horse Guards, the Duke of Ormond's (a second troop of Horse Guards), and 9,000 men from Scotland.

The first enterprise of the year was fated to end disastrously. It had been resolved, in order to weaken the French in Flanders, to make a descent on the French coast. The failure of this expedition was at first thought to be due to accident, but it was afterwards proved to have been caused by treachery. General Talmash, who was rightly considered one of the greatest generals of this time and the rival of Marlborough, was entrusted with the command. About the middle of April a camp was formed at Portsmouth to rendezvous the troops that had been ordered for this expedition. Admiral Lord Berkley was in command of the Fleet with the troops, and Russell, an old Tangier's friend, was ordered as soon as the Fleet had cleared the Channel to sail with his detachment to the Mediterranean to watch De Tourville. The Fleet with the troops sailed on 29th May (o.s.), but being baffled by contrary winds they were not able to get clear of Lizard Point till 5th June. Berkley, as soon as the Fleet was at sea, was informed by Talmash that it was his intention to endeavour to land at Brest, as he had been informed the place had been left with inadequate defence. The Fleet arrived off Brest on Friday, 8th June (o.s.), when they found the French had been treacherously informed of the enterprise and were quite prepared for them.

When the ships entered Cameret Bay they were received with a hot fire from the French batteries on shore. General Talmash, disbelieving the reports he had heard that the French were prepared for him, and which the readiness of the batteries to engage served to confirm, attempted to land his troops. The general himself landed with the first detachment of 300 or 400 men, and on advancing to endeavour to capture the ports which covered Brest he was met by a terrific fire from a body of troops that had been placed behind some entrenchments, while the Artillery from several batteries literally mowed down our troops. More troops were then landed, and advanced to support the brave leader and his forlorn hope.

After a gallant struggle our troops were driven back on all sides, Talmash, though mortally wounded, escaping to the boats. A council of war was hastily held on board the Fleet, when it was resolved, as nothing more could be attempted, to return to England. Some of the Fleet with Talmash arrived at Plymouth on the 12th, on which day the gallant soldier and leader breathed his last. The English are said to have lost a thousand men, but Talmash in his dispatch gave it as 500 killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. Amongst the latter was La Motte, the French engineer. Vauban, the famous French engineer, had, it was said, put Brest in a state of defence.

The King left London on Saturday the 5th, accompanied by the Queen, on his return to Flanders, intending to sail from Gravesend, but the wind being contrary he did not embark. He rested the night at Canterbury. On Sunday, the 6th May, he went to Margate, and sailed for Holland about eleven in the morning, arriving there about 10th. Immediately on his arrival he had conferences with the States General and Ministers at the Hague. He then sent orders to all the garrisons to get ready to take the field, and summoned 6,000 pioneers and 600 waggons to assist in the concentration of the troops.*

On the 17th Sir Henry Bellasis received his order to march next day with the garrisons of Bruges, Ostend, and the regiments quartered on the banks of the canal of Newport.

This division consisted of nineteen battalions. They were ordered to form a camp near Ghent, where they arrived on the 19th May and encamped at a place called Marykirk (or Marienkirk).† They remained here till the 21st, when they were marched through the town of Ghent. Major-General Ramsay was with Sir Henry Bellasis, and commanded part of this division of the troops, which consisted, amongst others, of the 2nd battalion of Scots Guards and the 1st battalion of the 1st Royal's. After passing through the town, they were joined by the forces that had been quartered there. These included two battalions of the Irish regiments of Guards under Sir Charles O'Hara, four battalions of Coldstreams, and the "Queen's," and other regiments. The Artillery were unable to leave for want of horses, so Sir David Collier was left behind near Ghent to guard the train and convoy when ready. The regiments left with him for this duty were the "Queen's," Granville's, Tidcomb's, Castletown's, Graham's, Offarel's, Fergusson's, and one of the French Huguenot's regiments, La Melonière's. The brigade encamped near the town on the way towards Dendermont. The Cavalry soon joined the troops from their various winter quarters, but

* Luttrell's Diary, Vol. III., p. 140.

† D'Auvergne. 1694, p. 7.

great difficulty was experienced in providing forage for the horses, as the Boers had suffered so much by the former campaigns that they had been unable to till the ground.

On the 24th May the King arrived in camp, which had been formed near the Cloister of Ferbank, and took up his quarters in the Abbey of Bethlehem. On the 27th, part of the Army, under the command of Count Nassau, Sir Henry Bellasis, and Major-General Ramsay, began its march towards the general rendezvous in the neighbourhood of Louvain. The same day they passed the Canal of Brussels at Vivorde, and were there joined by Collier's brigade, the Artillery having been sent by water to Malines, where they were to find the horses that had been ordered from Holland.

On the 31st the King, in the presence of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, reviewed all the troops that had arrived in camp, and expressed himself well satisfied with their appearance and conduct.

The French Army, on leaving their winter quarters, had rendezvoused between the Sambre and Meuse. On the 20th the Duke of Luxemburg joined the forces, and on the 22nd the Dauphin arrived, followed soon after by the Dukes of Chartres and Bourbon. The allies, after leaving their camps at Bethlehem and Ferbank, had crossed the river near Louvain, passing their old camp at Parc and the defiles of the Bois de Merdal and pitching the camp, with their left resting within a mile of Tirlemont and their right towards the villages of Sluys and Meldert, their left being covered by the villages of Lourine and Baveheim. The brigade of Guards covered the King's quarters near the Cloister of Valeduc. The brigade of Collier, in which the "Queen's" was posted, which, as already noted, had been left in camp at Vivorde, joined the main Army on the 4th June, and about the same time the Army was increased by ten battalions from the garrisons of Maestricht, Liège, and Hassel. As soon as the French heard of this movement of the allies, they crossed the Sambre on the 4th June and encamped at Gemblours.

The computation of the strength of the French forces at the camp is given as follows:—

	Cavalry Left wing.		Foot.		Cavalry Right wing.	
First line ...	35	squadrons	...	40	battalions	... 37 squadrons
Second „ ...	31	„	...	39	„	... 32 „
	66	„		79	„	... 69 „
Reserve ...	29	„		3	„	...
	95	„		82	„	... 69 „
						95 „
Giving a total of ...			...	82	„	... 164 „

The squadron of French Horse was calculated at 120 men per squadron, and the Foot 600 men per battalion, thus giving the total numbers as—

Cavalry, 19,680	} Total, 68,880.
Infantry, 49,200	

This is exclusive of Artillery and Engineers, and also exclusive of the forces under the commands of Boufflers, Harcourt, and Vallette, which were stated to be as follows:—

Marshal Boufflers	...	...	25 squadrons and 15 battalions
Marquis de Harcourt	...	...	20 „
Marquis de la Valette	...	...	17 squadrons and 10 battalions
Total	...	62	25

Estimating the strength of the squadrons and battalions the same gives a total of these forces of—

Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,440
Infantry	...	...	...	...	...	...	15,000
							22,440

which added to the Dauphin's Army of ... 68,880

gives a total, as near as can be estimated, of ... 91,320 fighting men.

The Confederate Army was estimated at the camp at Mont St. Andre as follows:—

	Right wing. Cavalry.		Body of Foot.		Left wing. Cavalry.
	Squadrons.	Interlined Foot.	Battalions.	Interlined Foot.	Squadrons.
First line	45	11	33	6	47
Second „	36	9	30	6	48
Totals	81	20	63	12	95

This gives a total of 176 squadrons, which, estimated at 150 sabres per squadron (the number given by D'Auvergne), makes a total of ... 26,400 horse

To this must be added the reserve of Dragoons of 54 squadrons, estimated at 100 per squadron, or ... 5,400 „

Making a total of ... 31,800 „

The Foot, as will be seen, consisted of 63 battalions in main body and 32 battalions in wings of horse, making 95 battalions, which, at 600 men to a battalion, gives a total of ... 57,000 men

To all this must be added the detachment under Count Thiau, encamped near Ghent, which is estimated at ... 7,000 „

Giving a grand total of ... 95,800 „

To this must be added the forces in Liège.

The "Queen's" were with the body of Foot in the first line, which consisted of thirty-three battalions, and were placed on the right of the line next to the brigade of Guards, the two brigades being formed as follows:—

Brigade of Guards.

Commanded by Major-General John Churchill, consisting of—

English Guards, 1st regiment	...	...	...	...	1 battalion
" 2nd "	...	...	...	...	1 "
Dutch Guards	...	...	...	...	1 "
Scots Guards	...	...	...	...	1 "

Total strength of Brigade ... 4 battalions

2nd Brigade, commanded by Major-General Mirmont, under whom was Brigadier-General Erle, consisted of—

Hamilton's Regiment (1st Royal's)	...	...	...	1 battalion
Selwyn's " (2nd Queen's)	...	...	...	1 "
Trelawney's " (4th King's Own)	...	...	...	1 "
Fitz Patrick's Fusiliers (7th " )	...	...	...	1 "
Brewer's Regiment (12th " )	...	...	...	1 "
Erle's " (19th " )	...	...	...	1 "

Total ... 6 battalions

The Confederate Artillery consisted of—

60 guns and 6 mortars, English,	
60 " 6 " Dutch, or a	
total of 120 " 12 "	

As the two opposing Armies had now arrived within a day's march, King William, in order to secure his camp, threw up entrenchments in front of it, and on the 5th June sent three battalions of Guards, with Eppinger's regiment of Dragoons, towards the Meldert Woods, which was held by the enemy. The next day, the 6th, the Artillery arrived in camp from Malines, also some Cavalry. These, with the Cavalry and the eight regiments forming Collier's brigade, were reviewed by the King in the presence of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne.

After the review the Foot, including the "Queen's" regiment, were posted in the villages between Louvain and Tirlemont.

On the 8th, at one in the morning, the French began a movement on the right towards Liège, and encamped at Bonef upon the Mehaigne, the allies changing their position to their left, with their right resting at Rosebeck and their left covered by the River Gheet and the town of Tirlemont.

The "Queen's" at this time was posted in Collier's Brigade, and was in the first line between Erle's and Alefeldt's Brigades.

While at Rusebeck (or Roosbeck) a warrant was issued by the King, ordering that on a captain changing from one regiment to another he was to rank as the youngest captain in his new regiment. The Irish and Scotch regiments coming on the English establishment were to take rank with the regiments from the time they were posted. The English regiments lately serving in Holland were to "take their rank immediately after the Queen's regiment of Foot, in respect to the capitulation that was made for them by the Earl of Ossery in the year 1688, with the allowance and direction of King Charles II."* The precedence of the several regiments serving in the Low Countries was to be as follows:—

- 1st. The Royal regiments.
- 2nd. Colonel Selwyn's regiment (the Queen's).
- 3rd. Major-General Churchill's regiment (the Buffs).

On the 10th the French left their camp at Bonef on the Mehaigne, and marched to St. Tron, where they took up a position with their left resting on the Jaer or Jecker, near Warem. Boufflers passed the Meuse the next day at Huy to join his forces with the main French Army. He encamped on the other side of the Jaer, between Warem and the Mehaigne, his object being to keep up a communication with Namur.

A constant stream of deserters came in to the allies from the French camp during these fencing movements. These deserters are said to have reached in number nearly 5,000 men. Their defection was said to have been caused by the want of pay and provisions, and not from disloyalty to the French King, though they were not all of French nationality.

The French division, under de la Valette, was at this time covering the French line between the Lys and the Scheldt. The allies, to hold this Army in check, had a force consisting of seven battalions, under the command of the Spanish General, Count de Thiau, encamped at Marykirk, just under the walls of Ghent.

On the 13th King William made a reconnaissance towards the enemy's camp with a strong body of Horse. On his way, he inspected the scene of the Battle of Landen, carefully going over the ground several times.

In consequence of Boufflers crossing the Jaer, and joining on to the left of the French main Army, King William ordered some

* War Office, Dutch Miscellany Book, 1693-1695.

defensive works to be erected, for the further security of the allied camp.

On the 1st July the French were again in movement, this time towards Tongres, with an apparent intention of laying siege to Maestricht. King William, relying upon the strength of his garrison there to resist, made preparations to endeavour to cut the French communications with Namur. Accordingly, he struck his camp on the 13th July, and marched in several columns from Rosebeck towards the Meuse, halting for a short time at Judaigne to enable the Elector of Bavaria's forces to come up. The first column, under the command of Major-General John Churchill, consisted of the brigades of Guards and the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 7th, 12th, and 19th Regiments; Major-General Mirmont and Brigadier-General Erle were in command of brigades. The Army arrived late in the evening, on the banks of the Meuse, taking up a position with the right resting at Harlue, and the left beyond the villages of Marilles and Molembais.

This movement of the allies alarmed the French, and they at once began to retreat towards Huy, leaving the country north of the Sambre and Meuse in the possession of the allies.

King William now resolved to endeavour to get possession of the town of Huy, on the Meuse, which town had, in the previous year, been wrested from the allies. In order to bring the French Army from the neighbourhood of Huy, he suddenly broke up his camp and moved towards the Scheldt. Parker, in his *Memoirs of the 18th Royal Irish*,* relates that the King had formed a scheme for passing the Scheldt at Pont d'Espieron, thus getting within the enemy's lines in French Flanders. This he had calculated would have given him a chance of levelling contributions in the enemy's country, and might have compelled Luxemburg to fight him, which the latter evidently did not then desire to do. Other accounts say the King's design was to capture the frontier towns and fortresses of Charleroi, Mons, and Tournay. Crossing the river at Oudenard, he took up a position threatening Courtrai, obliging the French to advance in the new direction, and by a series of rapid and clever movements, he forced the French to divide their Army, in order to cover the threatened towns. Finally, after crossing the Lys at Maechelne, and taking up a position at Rousselaer, he threatened Ypres. In order to still further lead the French into the belief that he intended to confine his operations at Ypres until the close of the year's campaign, he ordered the troops

* Parker's *Memoirs*, p. 45.

to build huts of straw. Having, by these prompt measures, thus drawn almost all the French troops away from Huy, he ordered some of his troops to march back to that place. The arrangements for the siege had been going on concurrently with the movements just related. Detachments had also been sent from the garrisons of Liège and Maestricht. Count Tilly was put in command of the siege.

On the 15th the town was invested, and on the 16th the troops sent from the main Army arrived. The garrison made no defence, but some show of resistance was made in the castle. On the 27th the town capitulated.

King William, as soon as he heard of the fall of Huy, immediately gave orders for the troops to retire into their winter quarters, and returned to England, visiting Maestricht and Liège on his way. He met Parliament on the 11th November, and congratulating them on the better position of affairs, both by sea and land, he said that, "with respect to the war by land, he thought he might say that this year a stop had been put to the progress of the French arms."

The King was this year to lose his incomparable helpmate, who died on the 28th December, to the inexpressible grief of the King and the nation.

In the Dutch Miscellany Papers relating to this year's operations, account is given of field pieces, which appear to have been sent with every regiment. On the 16th June, the papers give particulars of an invention of a Mr. Grey, sent to the War Minister, Blathwayte. This invention relates to the firing of a bomb which weighed 100 pounds, and which it was said could be fired to carry and explode with "400 large pieces!!"*

As soon as the regiment went into winter quarters, which, as far as can be ascertained, was at Ghent, arrangements were, on 23rd October, made that officers going on leave were to do the duty of recruiting in England. The officers deputed for this were, Captains Phillips, Culliford, Bickerstaff, and Kingsley; Lieutenants Arnot, La Valle, Castles, and Giles; Ensigns Sands, Melvin, Stanley, Slack, and Russell.

During the winter recruits were sent out from England. A marching order, dated 31st December, gives instructions to Captain Price, of H.M. Ship *Centurion*, for forwarding a party of recruits for the "Queen's" and other regiments. The recruits were to be landed at Ostend.†

* War Office, Dutch Miscellany Book, 1693-1695.

† Marching Order Book, 1694, Vol. 9.

Amongst the number of warrants issued this year for pay and allowances to the troops, is an interesting item of 20,000 guilders paid to Brigadier-General Charles Churchill, which the King allows for the ransom of the Duke of Berwick, taken prisoner by him at Ianlen, "which sum has been allowed by the French Commissary."

Various warrants were issued for regulating the method of paying the troops in Flanders, and for the provision to be made for recruiting. A warrant of 20th May directs that during the campaign the musters were to be taken every fortnight, and that none were to be allowed on the musters except those actually present at the time. A warrant of 10th September, commands the colonels and commanders-in-chief of "our several regiments of Horse and Foot, to give from time to time an account of their respective regiments, and they were to at once account with, and satisfy their several captains of the sums due to them, and oblige the captains to settle with under officers and private soldiers, upon pain of the King's highest displeasure." *

It evidently took a long time to settle the accounts of the regiments that had served in Ireland. Bills continued to be presented in the years following the departure of the regiment, even up to 1694. Mr. Robert Boardman appears to have been either the collector or agent, as most of the sums are paid to him. Mr. William Wallis, was assignee of Colonel Selwyn, and Charles Boneter was collector in the county of Dublin. Charles Melville was collector of customs in Dublin, and in 1693, received an Exchequer acquittance in lieu of the six debts due from Kirk's regiment to Robert Boardman.

It must have been a difficult matter in those days to ascertain the cost of a campaign.†

In the list given at the end of the year of the land forces in Flanders, the "Queen's" is still kept at its old establishment, viz., 13 companies, of 60 men in each, 780 men, which, with the officers 44, non-commissioned officers 104, made up a total of 928 men, with an annual cost of 16,145*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* 69 servants were allowed to the battalion.

In the paper from which this is taken, the total of the English Army is shown as follows:—

Horse, 47 squadrons, 128 troops	...	...	9,363 men.
Dragoons, 17 " 58 "	...	...	3,800 "
Foot, 59 battalions, 642 companies	...	...	43,866 "
Total	...	...	<u>56,969</u>

* War Office warrant for pay and contingencies, 1694-1696, Vol. 792, P.R.O.

† Journals of the House of Commons, 1688-1693, Vol. 11.

The estimated Army establishment for next year was given on 5th December as follows:—

Horse	...	...	...	...	14,610
Dragoons	...	...	...	...	5,217
Foot	...	...	...	...	51,280
Total					<u>70,507</u>

The lamented death of Queen Mary for a time quite prostrated the King, but the troubles of State and the necessity of making a great effort to end the war in Flanders, provided the tonic which was needed. He prorogued Parliament on the 3rd May, and immediately made his preparations to return to Holland.

A letter was sent to Colonel Selwyn, commanding the "Queen's" regiment, to the following effect:—

SIR,

It having been agreed that the convoy and transport ships for carrying the recruits from Hull to Willemstadt should be ready at Hull by the middle of this month, which term was afterwards referred to the latter end of the month, I am now to acquaint you that the transport ships are accordingly ready to receive the men on board, and that the Dutch men-of-war are likewise there and have orders to see them safe into the Goree, so that you are to hasten your recruits as much as possible.

A copy of this letter was sent to the sixteen English regiments who were quartered in Holland.*

A meeting of colonels of regiments was held on 10th January, when it was agreed to humbly lay before His Majesty the necessity that transports should be at once hired on the Thames to bring over 300 recruits to Ostend under the convoy of the *Centurion*, and that three other convoys should follow at stated times up to the end of February. Six hundred recruits, it was estimated, would be ready by the 20th February. No recruits were to be raised in England for the Scotch regiments or any foreign troops, and all arrears of pay were to be at once cleared up.†

A considerable change had been made in the character of the French Army by the death of the Duke of Luxemburg, his successor, Villeroy, being more a courtier than a soldier.

* War Office, *Marching Book*, 1694, Vol. 9.

† War Office, *Dutch Miscellany Book*, 1693-1695, January 10th.

The end of the campaign in the last year had found the French held somewhat in check by the manœuvres of William, and he determined to begin the new campaign by throwing all his might into the capture of Namur. The French had had so much difficulty in guarding their conquests in Flanders, that they had begun to protect them by lines of entrenchments, which, early in the year, the allies endeavoured to put a stop to by sending a large force of 35,000 men, under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, against them. The Earl of Athlone was sent with part of this force towards Brussels. The Elector's forces consisted, besides the brigade of Guards, of 500 men from every regiment in garrison in Flanders. The King had sent orders that a camp was to be formed between Deynse and Ghent and had ordered a detachment towards Bruges and Dixmunde in April. Finding they were unable to stop the enemies' works, the whole force was ordered to return at the end of April to their winter quarters. The works thrown up by the French were on their right from Bossut, on the Scheldt, through Courtray and Commines, on the Lys, thence by Ypres, Fort Knock (or Kenogne), and Furness to Dunkirk on their left.

King William landed in Holland on the 14/24 May, and, after a few days spent at Loo, began his preparations for a vigorous campaign. He divided his Army into two corps, giving the command of one to the Elector of Bavaria, with the Duke of Holstein Plœn as second, he himself retaining the command of the right wing, with the Prince of Vaudemont (Charles Henry of Lorraine) as his second in command.

On the 19/29 May the Duke of Ormond left the Hague for camp, Sir George Rooke leaving the next day for Rotterdam, to take the first fair wind for England.

The strength of the allied forces was as follows :—

Right Wing Horse, 82 squa.	...	...	...	...	11,000
Infantry	...	...	...	...	42,000
				Total	53,000
The Electors force, Horse	...	...	...	...	15,000
Infantry	...	...	...	...	29,800
				Total	43,800

Besides these two main forces there was a detachment under the command of Ellenberg, on the King's right, consisting of—

Horse	...	...	...	...	...	1,100
Infantry	...	...	...	...	...	11,400
				Total	...	12,500

while the Brandenburg forces guarding the Meuse brought the total of the allies up to over 124,700 men.

The strength of the French Army was calculated at 100,000.

The Army had rendezvoused at Marykirk, on the west of the town of Ghent, and at Bethlehem. On the 17/27 they moved out and took up a position at Aerseele, on the Lys, near Deynse, where the King joined them, arriving about 11 o'clock at night on the 27th (o.s.). On his arrival he was waited on by the Elector of Bavaria, who had ridden out from his camp at Ninove, and was informed by him that the enemy appeared to be drawing his troops together at Leuse, and it was said they were to be joined by the Duke Maine.*

King William spent the first ten days in a careful examination of his troops, inspecting the Infantry on the 29th (o.s.) a few days after his arrival. He fixed his head-quarters at Aerseele. The opening of the campaign was, says St. Simon, a beautiful game of chess, but the players were unequal; Villeroy was no match for the cool determined player King William. On the 2nd day in June (o.s.) the King made an advance towards the enemy's lines at Ypres, resting the night at Rousselaer. The next day he moved on to Becelar. Here he was able to reconnoitre the enemy's lines, which he found well protected. His object was, however, not to weaken his forces by dashing them against the strongly held position at Ypres, but to feint and embarrass Villeroy, and so disguise his real object of attack, viz., Namur. He now sent off the Elector, who was at Ninove, to take up a position at Wonteghem, in front of the enemy's lines, and between the Scheldt and the Lys, while the Earl of Athlone, who was in the neighbourhood of Maestricht, was ordered with the Brandenburgers and the troops from Liège to march with all speed to Namur.

On the 6/16 June Villeroy, with the main body of the French Army, was at Ypres. From there he detached 10,000 men to reinforce Marshal Boufflers, who was at Pont d'Espieron. Another body of the enemy, under Mons. Montal, lay between Ypres and Kenogne. The Elector spent the night of 6/16 at Hauterive, within two leagues of Boufflers' camp, between the Lys and the Scheldt. Major-General Churchill was to leave on the 8th to join the Duke of Wurtemberg before the fort of Kenogne, which he intended to besiege. The Earl of Athlone was directed to keep Boufflers in hand.

* Military Expeditions, 1695-1697.

The King broke up camp at Bec'ar, near Ypres, on the 18/28* and again encamped at Rousselaer, at which place he only remained one night. From here he marched with all speed to Namur,† pushing on with a guard of Horse and Dragoons to Desellberg, near Ghent. On the 20/30 June he was at Grunberg, near Vilvorde. All the necessary preparations for the siege of Namur had been made, cannons, mortars, ammunition and stores having been sent from Maestricht, Liège, and Huy. The Baron de Heyden had, with the Brandenburg troops, passed the Sambre and was making all haste for Namur.† The Elector was instructed to follow with all his forces. Vaudemont was left behind at Fort Kenogne and its environs to watch the French and to cover Flanders.

Villeroy was not a little startled when he found Namur invested, and at once sent the most urgent instructions to Marshal Boufflers to, if possible, get into the town with a large body of troops. This the Marshal succeeded in doing before the King arrived. Marquis Guiscard, who was in command of the garrison, had now 16,000 of the choicest troops of France in Namur. The town was also well stored with provisions and ammunition, and was covered by strong forts. Villeroy was so confident in the strength of the place, that towards the end of July he determined to make an effort to crush Vaudemont's forces at Kenogne. This commander had sent off a detachment from his force, consisting of fourteen battalions, under Major-General Ramsay, with orders to join the troops before Namur. Ramsay arrived on the 8th July, his force having been increased by four regiments from Dixmunde.

Vaudemont, finding he was likely to be hardly pressed by Villeroy, threw up strong entrenchments in front of the position he had chosen, and when Villeroy arrived he found his foe apparently securely posted. The Prince was quite equal to the task of baffling the French General. He was cleverly aided in obtaining information by the skill of three Capuchin Friars. As soon as the pressure of the overwhelming forces Villeroy had brought against him became too great, Vaudemont retreated to Ghent, the Infantry filing off by the left under the walls of Deynse. Villeroy, finding when he advanced against the entrenchments that the birds had flown, sent round some Cavalry by the right to endeavour to harass the retreat, but his Dragoons only succeeded in coming up with Sir D. Collier's regiment, who was,

* It is given as 17/27 in *Military Expeditions, 1695-1697.*

† *Military Expeditions 1695-1697.*

however, able to hold them in check. Night coming on favoured the retreat, which was most masterly effected. Before daylight next day the Army was safe under the walls of Ghent; passing the same day the canal which leads from there to Bruges. Villeroy followed quickly, but the information Vaudemont obtained enabled him to completely checkmate the French General. At last Villeroy gave up the chase.

The French General now determined to advance on Brussels and to bombard it, hoping by this measure to force William to raise the siege of Namur. He commenced his march to Brussels on the 5th August. In the meantime, the King had been making the greatest efforts to capture the town of Namur. On the 18th July a grand attack was made upon the enemy's works near Brussels Gate. The King having worked up all his approaches to within striking distance, resolved to make a great effort to capture this important point. Major-General Ramsay was entrusted with the enterprise, and had for his force the Brigade of Guards, consisting of five battalions (one battalion Dutch), and nine battalions of English and Scotch. Major-General Smith assisted with eight Dutch and other regiments. The attack began at 7 p.m. by the advance of parties of Grenadiers and Fusiliers drawn out of all the regiments at the siege, "fifteen men from each regiment." The brigade of Guards followed quickly, being ordered by Ramsay to advance to the palisades without firing a shot until they could put their muskets through them. This was done with fine spirit, and the first covered way was soon in their hands. Their victorious rush was, however, not to be stopped here, and up they went to the second way and through the palisades, though both lines were desperately defended by the French. The Guards, after carrying both lines, rushed on to the forts on the hill, chasing the enemy out of them, and inflicting great slaughter. In their ardour they lost many of their men, who, pursuing too far, were made prisoners. Lieutenant-Colonel Davies greatly distinguished himself in this gallant action, in which he was so badly wounded that he died the next day. The King, hearing of his gallantry and of his desperate wounds, was on the point of writing to him the next morning when he heard of his death.

An interesting letter, in French, from Mr. Blathwayte, gives full particulars of this fight. In describing the intrepid advances of our troops, he writes that he never in his life witnessed such a fire as was poured upon the troops. "You could see nothing," he writes, "but flames and mines exploding with clouds of grenades."* A very

* Military Expeditions, 1695-1697.

large quantity of men and officers on the French side were killed. They were reported to have lost over 6,000 men. On the 14/24 an abstract was sent in of the English killed and wounded since the investment of Namur. Colonel Selwyn's regiment was reported to have had seven sentinels killed and three wounded.

Another attack, which lasted the whole day, was made on the 2nd August on the counterscarp of St. Roch. The next day the breaches made in the defences were further widened, and preparations were made for a grand assault on the 4th. The French, seeing that there was no hope to save the town, offered to capitulate. Terms were agreed upon, and on the day intended for the assault 500 of the allied troops took peaceable possession of the Porte de Ler, and the garrison, which was now reduced to 7,000 men, retired into the castle. The Dutch troops were sent to take possession of the town.

The losses of the allies in this action were very heavy; the brigade of Guards lost 177 killed, 366 wounded, and forty-one missing. In another brigade over 800 men were put hors de combat.* The total lost of the allies was about 500 killed and 1,200 wounded.† Major-General Ramsay was thanked by the King for this "great success," and was complimented for his skill and dash by the chief general officers. His horse was shot under him during the action.

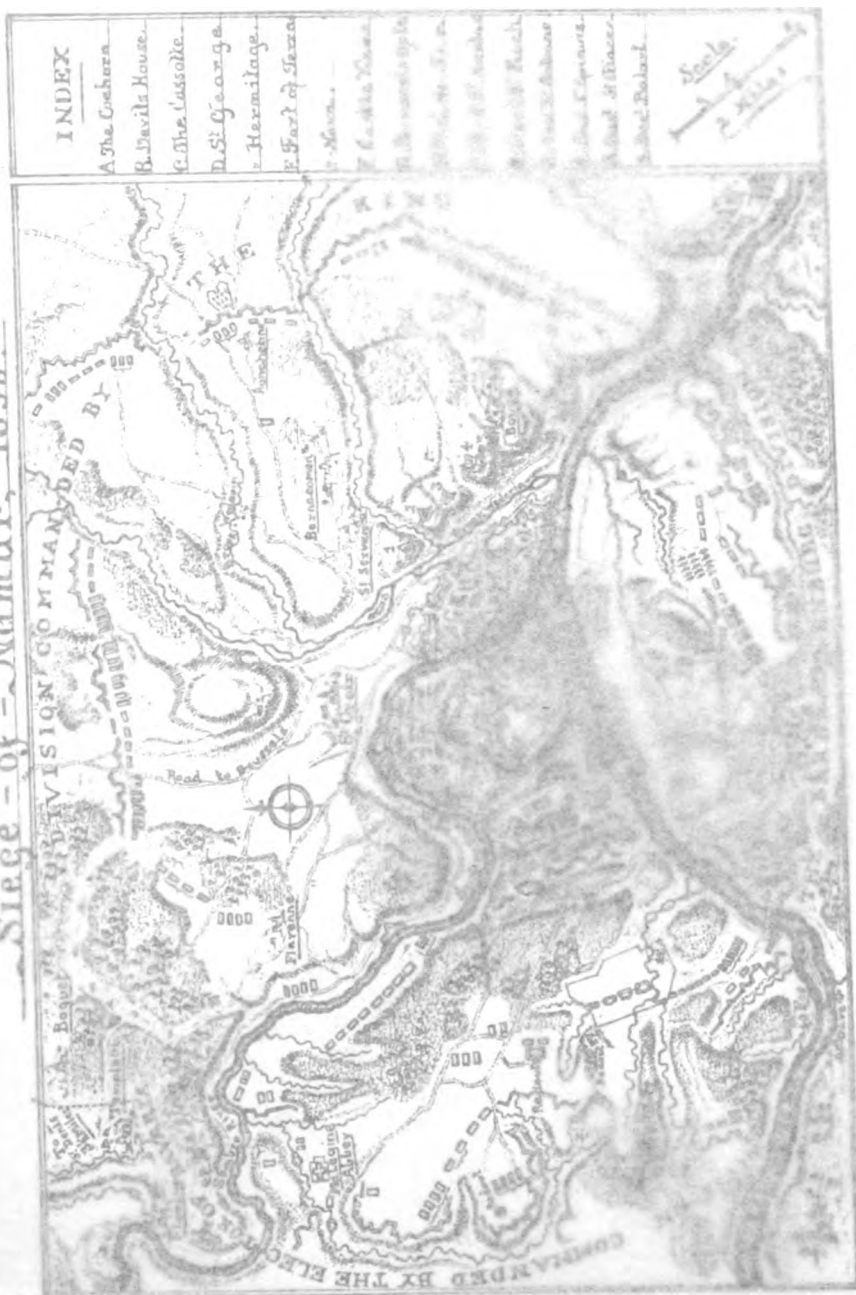
The English troops in this, as in all other actions before Namur, are said to have "behaved themselves with such undaunted courage and bravery that they carried all before them, and the most experienced officers declare they never saw attacks made with greater vigour."‡ The London Gazette of 21st August informs its readers that the King had been pleased to make Colonels Selwyn and Lord George Hamilton Brigadiers of Foot, in consideration of their good services, particularly at this siege. It is therefore most likely that the "Queen's" were actively engaged on the 18th and on the 2nd August, as the colonel of the regiment was thus specially signalled out for promotion and notice with the commander of the Guards' battalions. As soon as the King had got possession of the town of Namur he was able to detach some of his troops to succour Vaudemont, who was being hardly pressed by Villeroy at Brussels. He sent off thirty battalions, thirteen of which were English, towards Brussels, the detachment being joined on the way by the Earl of Athlone with some Cavalry, this com-

* Military Expeditions, 1695-1697.

† Hamilton's Guards, Vol. I., p. 397.

‡ London Gazette, 4th August 1696.

Siege of - Namur, 1695.



THE SIEGE OF NAMUR, 1695.
A. D. 1695.
The map is a reproduction of the original map in the possession of the British Museum.

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and Author's MSS.

THE KING

THE BRAND-ENBURG

Scale 1/4 2 Miles

Divisions Commanded by the Electric

SAIGON

CHATELAIN

ST. LOUIS

ST. MICHEL

RIVER SAIGON

HANOI

HO CHI MINH

PHNOM PENH

Divisions Commanded by the Electric

Compiled from Siege of Namur, Eng. Hist., 1695 (1862—8—12), 404, Print Room, B.M.
Relations de Campagne, La Hage, 1686, F.anders, 113, 9, 8 (2), Lib., B.M.
et du Siege de Namur, et Cartes et Plans, 1689.
Sieede Beek van Artois Heugouart, Namur en Mechelen, etc. 1783 (c), B.M.
Seconde Carte Topographique de la Belgique. P. Vandermaelen. B.M.
Maps { Carte Topographique de la Belgique. P. Gerard. Namur en Mechelen. 1738. B.M.
Consulted { Atlas Belgium, S. 219 (27), B.M. Namur Map Department. Tunnel der Oostervlyke, Nelderlanen. 1738. B.M.
and Author's MSS.

mander taking the command of the whole force. When the Earl arrived at Waterloo he learnt that Vaudemont was in urgent need of help. He therefore immediately hastened off with ten battalions of his force, leaving the rest to follow.

Villeroy had completed his batteries in front of Brussels by the 13th, and on that day he commenced the bombardment of the town. His force consisted of 100 battalions and 220 squadrons, while that of the allies (even after the junction of the two forces at Genappes and Waterloo on the 17th August) was calculated to be only 70 battalions and 182 squadrons. News having arrived in the camp at Namur that Prince Vaudemont was very ill, the King was so troubled about it that he resolved to visit him at Brussels. Accordingly, on the 1/11 August he left the camp at Namur escorted by two troops of Horse Guards, a troop of Grenadier Guards, and several squadrons of Brandenburg Horse. On arriving at Waterloo, he found the dispositions for the defence of Brussels so well taken, that after the Prince (who was not so ill as had been reported) had visited the King and acquainted him with all the preparations he had made to resist the siege of Brussels, the King returned to Namur. The French commander destroyed a large part of the town of Brussels, but being unable to effect the capture of the place in face of the reinforced allied Army, he raised the siege. Being joined at Seneffe by a detachment which raised his forces to 119 battalions and 235 squadrons, he suddenly changed his plans and made for the plains of Fleury, his intention being to attempt the relief of Namur.

In a letter from Brussels, dated 26th June 1695, mention is made of an action fought before Brussels. The writer remarks "on assure de n'avoir jamais vu battre des soldats avec tant d'entrepidité qu'ont fait les Anglois."*

As soon as King William heard that the French Commander had marched to the relief of Namur he made preparations to receive him. Leaving the Elector of Bavaria to conduct the siege, he took up a new position, which he prudently and skilfully covered by entrenchments, and strengthened with some battalions withdrawn from the siege, resting with his left on the Sambre near Lemploux and his right extending northwards towards St. Denis.

The siege of the castle and citadel of Namur continued without intermission, and on Friday night, 2/12 August, the trenches were carried about 150 paces before the face of the Cohorn towards the Sambre, "and made a considerable lodgement." The day following the trenches were advanced 200 paces more. The same afternoon

* State Papers, Flanders, 1694-1695, Vol. 123.

the enemy made a rally upon the troops in the trenches (which were that night under the command of Colonel Seymour), but were successfully repulsed, and the trenches were advanced another 150 paces. On Saturday one of the bombs fell into a magazine of grenades in the castle, some powder being also in store there, an explosion took place and did considerable damage to the enemy. On the 4/14 the enemy made a rally upon Colonel Seymour's party, who had advanced very near the enemy's palisades. Seymour, his major, a captain, and twelve men were wounded, and four killed, but the enemy gained no advantage. On Monday, the 5/15, a new trench was started about 300 paces into the plain of Salsine. Tuesday the new trench was further advanced, and the one at the foot of the mountain was repaired and enlarged. On the 7/17 thirty-two 24 pounders came into camp from Maestricht. By the 12/23 August Blaythwayte writes from Malogne Abbey, "Everything is come to a crisis." *

Rumours came to camp that the French had got another Army together near Poeroy, and that Marshal Villeroy had arrived at Seneffe. On Thursday, 8/18, about 11 p.m., the enemy made another sally with 200 Dragoons and 500 Grenadiers, but were repulsed by the Spanish and Bavarian Horse, who were on guard at the trenches. In an account of this sally it is stated that Count de Rivera (Master of the Horse to the Elector) and Lord Cutts took part in this fight, which is described as follows:—"At out 11 a.m. the enemy made a sally with 200 Dragoons mounted, and 500 Grenadiers. They first made an attack on our right with 160 Grenadiers, when the Count de Rivera (visiting the night patrols) immediately repulsed them, and then making an attack on our left (where Lord Cutts had just posted the advanced guards to cover our workmen), 100 Dragoons came upon Mr. Sutton, a lieutenant of Colonel Seymour's regiment, who was posted in the plains of Salsine with thirty-seven English Fusiliers, who let them come on till they were within four paces of him, and then firing upon them retreated softly towards our main body, and the Dragoons pressing again upon him gave them a second volley, upon which turn the Spanish and Bavarian Horse (who were posted in the plain of Salsine to sustain the party), fell in with the enemy sword in hand, and followed them to the very gate of the castle." On Friday, 9/19, the Salsine trench and that at the foot of the mountain were joined without any interruption from the enemy.

* Military Expeditions, 1695-1697.

On Saturday Prince Vaudemont arrived at Magy, within ten leagues of the camp, and on Sunday morning early the bombardment of the castle began in earnest. Seventy great guns and forty mortars and howitzers continued firing furiously all day, assisted by the Brandenburg batteries from the side of the Meuse. The enemy now began to fire on to the town. The battalion of Guards and the four English regiments which had been here during the whole siege were this day relieved by six battalions from the main Army.

On the 12/22 the King went to inspect the position Prince Vaudemont had taken up, dined with him, and returned to camp in the evening. Mr. Blathwayte writes on 19/29 that "the King is in continual fatigue, and expecting the enemy to attack us every moment."

On Friday afternoon, the 16/26, the King received information of the advance of Villeroy on Namur, and that his Army was already marching to Fleurus. The King at once set out from the camp to join Vaudemont, leaving the care of the siege to the Elector and Duke Ho'stein Pleon. He took up his quarters the same night at Bonessce. On Saturday Villeroy was at Fleurus, his force there being strengthened by the arrival of detachments from Germany and the troops under the command of M. Harcourt.

On Monday the enemy marched to Gembloux and made every preparation to attack, advancing towards the King's position, "as near as the ground would permit." King William had his troops quite prepared for the assault, remaining in the field himself from 4 a.m. till 8 p.m. Villeroy, however, was evidently afraid to attack, for the position Vaudemont had taken was very strong; he had also carefully entrenched his camp where it was weakest. The troops were ordered to lie under their arms in expectation of an attack in the early morning.

While waiting in expectation of an advance by Villeroy, William with great hardihood and boldness sent off a detachment of 2,000 Grenadiers to assist in a combined attack which it had been decided to make on the castle in the morning.

Villeroy had found to his great chagrin, on arriving before Namur, that the allies were very strongly posted; he therefore pitched his camp with the evident intention of stopping King William's supplies; but he soon became aware that the King had prudently provisioned his Army, and could well afford to hold out. He now made an attempt to break up the right of the allies, but as soon as William perceived this movement he sent out thirty squadrons of Horse to meet the attack. They were met by forty squadrons of the French, and the English Horse falling back by design, the

French Cavalry fell into an ambuscade, and were hurled back with great slaughter.*

While this was going on the siege was being pressed by the Elector with vigour and skill. Several breaches had been made in the main wall of the castle and in the walls of the Terra Nova, the terrible pounding of the 160 battering cannon and the 55 mortars day and night, kept the French from restoring any of the trenches and demoralised the besieged.

The King had been highly delighted with the success of the Prince of Lorraine (Vaudemont), and with the skill he had displayed in the masterly retreat to Ghent. He had written a letter to him, dated at 3 a.m., as soon as he had heard of his safe arrival under the walls, in which he says, "I am much obliged to you, for in this retreat you have given greater marks of a general consummate in the art of war, than if you had gained a victory. I absolutely approve of your conduct on this occasion, and I hope it will hinder the enemy from undertaking any more of the same nature."† Vaudemont so quickly joining the King before Namur had much hampered the plans of Villeroy.

Before daylight on the 20/30 August the dispositions for the final assault on the castle and citadel of Namur were made, and were as follows:—Lord Cutts, with a detachment of Grenadiers and four other regiments of Foot, was to attack the counterscarp and breach of the Terra Nova, the Elector of Bavaria, with Count de Rivera, Major-General in the Spanish Service, and 3,000 Spaniards and Bavarians, was to attack the Cohorn on the side next the Terra Nova, while Prince of Nassau Saarbruck, Major-General La Cave, and 2,000 Brandenburgers and Hessians attacked the Cohorn on the right; 2,000 Dutch under Duke of Holstein Ploen, Major-General Swerin, were ordered to take the covered way about the Devil's House, and a force of 2,000 men under Count Marsilly were sent to attack the lower town. The troops were all in position by daybreak, but the advance was not made till about noon. At about that time, the forlorn hope, which consisted of detachments of thirty-six men from each of the regiments who had not yet taken part in the siege, and of half that number from those who had been engaged, marched out of the trenches, quickly followed by the Grenadiers of the Guards and other regiments. The troops had to advance over 900 paces before they came to the trench, and during that dreadful short rush they were mown down in masses by shot from the enemy's ramparts, the losses at this time being dreadful. The

* General Stearne's Journal, p. 158.

† Coke's Selection, Vol. III., p. 19.

attack, writes General Stearne, the diarist of the 18th Regiment, was delivered with the greatest fury, "it was the most desperate made since the memory of man."

When the troops entered the trench they saw that Boufflers had thrown up an entrenchment behind it, and as they rushed over the obstacle the enemy's cannon, which had been well posted, made terrible gaps in their ranks; in a short time the ground was covered with dead and dying men. A description of the desperate nature of the assault and the difficulties encountered is given in a letter of Blathwayte, where he relates that, when they had made themselves masters of the trench, and "were on the top of it (of which the ascent was very difficult) they found room to draw up not above thirty or forty men in order, before which place was a cellar about forty feet wide and several yards deep, which was impassable, upon the right of which was a passage that led to the rampart of the Terra Nova, through which not above five or six men could march abreast, so that there was no possibility of advancing with a front sufficient to charge the strength they had to deal with, for besides the fire from the rampart on our right and from the walls of the castle on our left, there was a high work before them (a little on the right) that commanded the breach and plied our men with a very warm fire, insomuch that after most of the officers were killed and wounded that they fell into some disorder but afterwards rallied again."*

The terrible loss may be gauged by the record of the 18th Royal Irish, who, in this short march of 900 paces and mounting the entrenchments lost one lieutenant-colonel, four captains, and seven subalterns killed, and one colonel, three captains, and ten subalterns wounded, and upwards of 380 men placed hors de combat. The English attacking the breach had been forced back, but the Bavarians gained a footing in the Cohorn and poured a hot fire upon the enemy, who made desperate attempts to dislodge them. A gallant attack was now made by a party of thirty men of Mackay's regiment against a battery of the French which was causing great loss to the allies. This attack, ordered by Lord Cutts, was led by a young lieutenant of his regiment, and was made with such resolution that the battery was captured and turned against the French. Some regiments that had been left in reserve at Salsine Abbey now came up, and though late their rush was so impetuous that the tide of battle again rolled back to the breach, which was held for a time, but as no further advance could be made they had again to retire. Boufflers now made signals to Villeroy that he was in great

* Military Expeditions, 1695-1697.

danger, and that commander tried by every means in his power to break through to his assistance, but in vain. He therefore made signals to the marshal to make the best terms he could in case he had to capitulate.

The King had witnessed the fighting from a commanding position near Salsine Abbey, and is reported to have been particularly pleased with the action of the 18th Royal Irish, conferring upon them afterwards the right to the title of the Royal Irish Regiment, in honour of their conduct, and also the proud motto they now carry on their colours "*Namurensis virtutis præmium.*"

The allies having now got a secure footing on the works of the castle, kept up a fierce artillery fire, and another assault was arranged to be delivered next day. The enemy, seeing further resistance would entail a useless waste of life, hung out a white flag. They at first endeavoured to stipulate that they should retain the Cohorn Fort, only giving up the work in front of it, but the Elector of Bavaria refused to entertain any terms but the unconditional surrender of all the forts and places of defence. Terms were at last agreed upon and hostages exchanged. Major-General La Cave and Colonel Frederick Hamilton being the hostages on the part of the allies. On Monday, the 26th August, the King, having dined very early, was on his way to the camp before Namur to give directions for a further assault, when he was met by an adjutant sent by the Elector, who gave him an account of the desire of Boufflers and the Governor Guiscard to capitulate. The terms agreed upon were, that the French were to march out of the castle on Monday with eight pieces of cannon, three covered waggons, and their armoury, and to be conducted to Dinant, leaving behind them 109 cannon.* On the Army marching out on the day arranged, Marshal Boufflers was arrested in the King's name as a hostage, till satisfaction was given by the French King for his treatment of the garrisons of Deynse and Dixmund. Boufflers was very indignant, but as he was said to have detained the garrisons of Deynse and Dixmund contrary to the stipulations agreed upon when those places surrendered, he ought not to have grumbled that the same measure was meted out to him that he had given to his enemies.

Louis immediately sent full powers to Boufflers to comply with the demands of William, and he was released after ten days' detention. King William wrote to his Minister Shrewsbury the day after the capture of the citadel of Namur, informing him of his success, and the Duke of Portland, writing to the same Minister,

* Luttrell's Diary, Vol. III. p. 518.

says of his master the King, "the fatigue he has suffered is incredible, as well as the care and trouble he has undergone and is able to support." The Duke wrote also in strong terms of admiration of the conduct of the English during the siege.*

A letter appears in Domestic State Papers, dated 13th July, which has reference to an attack made on Namur, wherein it is stated "the English and Scotch under the command of Major-General Ramsay did wonderfully well."†

A letter from Mr. Blathwayte from before Namur refers to the shameful capitulation of Deynse and Dixmund. Sir James Leslie, our old Tangier's friend and ancient officer of the Queen's, and Colonel O'Farrell were the officers in command of these two places. Blathwayte writes, "I am ashamed to tell you that Brig. O'Farrell, instead of retiring with his own and the Friesland regiment, that were together in Denise (Deynse), surrendered to the French upon discretion, not only before the cannon, but even our battalions came before the place, having been only summoned by some regiment of Horse that had invested him."‡ Sir James Leslie's regiment, after leaving the Queen's, was the present 15th.

Another old Tangier's friend, Colonel Henry Villiers was given a money grant of 445 dollars for the conduct of the Grenadiers of his regiment during the several attacks on Namur. It appears to have been a custom in those times to award immediate money pryments for any especial service in the field.

The loss of the French during the siege of Namur was upwards of 6,500, and the total loss of the allies about 9,000 men. The desperately wounded were, after the assault, sent down the River Meuse to Liège, where the ground hospital was fixed. A large number of the wounded joined their regiments in November.

In the private papers of King William, the following particulars are found of the losses before Namur. The paper is headed, "Liste des Soldats morts et blessés devant Namur des Régiments Anglois depuis le commencement jusques à la fin du siège," and records the total killed, 1,556; wounded, 2,205. The Queen's regiment lost 55 killed and 46 wounded.§

After the capture of Namur the King's Army drew up into the plains, marching by Sombreffe and Perwys and Nivelles to Hal. At this latter place, on the 13th September, the King reviewed

* Shrewsbury Correspondence, pp. 103 and 104.

† Domestic State Papers, Letter Book (Secretary's), 1691-1699.

‡ Military Expeditions, 1695-1697.

§ Home Office, King William's Chest, formerly Sealed Bag, No. 13.

the Army, which was drawn up in two lines. After the review the King left camp and gave the command of the Army to the Elector of Bavaria.

On the 24th September a list was given of the state of the troops. In this list the "Queen's" regiment is stated to have had eighty sick in hospital and four sick in camp. The effectives are stated to amount to 536. Two men were stated to be prisoners of war. In October the number in hospital was ninety-four.

The King reached London on the 10th October, the streets being illuminated in honour of the return of the successful warrior King. The Elector remained at Hal till about the end of September, when he moved into Quentin Lenneck in order to cover Brussels. Here he learnt that the French had gone into their winter quarters, he therefore gave the orders for the allies to disperse into their winter quarters.

In the list of the land forces of this year, the "Queen's" are given as thirteen companies, comprising forty-four officers, 104 non-commissioned officers, and 780 private men. The pay and allowances were 16,145*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Sixty-nine servants were allowed to the regiment.*

Among the numerous warrants for pay and contingencies for the forces this year, which may be noted, is a warrant dated the 1st January, for regulating the subsistence to be paid weekly to the forces in Flanders. The amount to be paid to the "Queen's" was 230*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*; a warrant was also issued to repay to the Bank of England the sum of 3,965*l.* lost in exchange from 200,278*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* remitted to Flanders for pay of troops.

In a warrant for payment of clothing a Foot regiment is stated as costing 2,504*l.* 8*s.* 5½*d.* per annum. Several warrants were issued for extra pay to Grenadiers and others at the assault on Namur, and for the expenses of wounded and disabled soldiers after the Battle of Landen. The last warrant of the year noted is dated 26th November, and is for the cost to replace by draft out of other regiments in England the men killed before Namur, and for allowances to be made for wounded men at Namur. In this warrant the "Queen's" are stated to have had forty-six wounded men.†

In the various papers that have been consulted for an account of the battles before Namur, no special mention is made of the "Queen's" regiment, but as far as can be ascertained, the regiment came up with the reserves from Salsine Abbey, and joined in the

* Harl. MSS., 7018, p. 173.

† War Office, Warrants for Pay and Contingencies, 1694-1696, Vol. 792, P.R.O.

gallant and intrepid advance which carried the breach the second time it was attempted.

This gallant and successful siege, and the clever strategic movements of King William with his Army and the Confederates before Namur, is rightly looked upon as one of his greatest achievements. The resolute manner in which he defeated Villeroy's attempt to raise the siege, and his boldness in sending off some of the best of the troops facing Villeroy, when the actual assault was to be made on the castle, was admirable. His cool indomitable courage, his dauntless resolution and fighting skill, was never better displayed than in the siege of Namur, and the movements that led up to it.

The estimate of the land forces for the year was as follows :—

Horse	...	...	...	...	11,853
Dragoons	...	...	...	...	5,655
Foot	...	...	...	...	70,194
					<u>87,702</u>

The cost 2,003,270*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.*

There is sad evidence in the petitions of widows and children of officers of the Queen's to the Treasury Lords, of the destitution and misery caused by the wars and of the poverty of the Crown Treasury. Mary. Birt, widow of Ensign Birt killed in Flanders 1693, with her four children, petition for payment of her husband's arrears to keep them from starving. Mrs. Culliford, wife of Major Culliford, petitions for her grandchildren's support, and of their mother, who was the widow of Captain Webster. Robert Billing, brother of Lieutenant-Colonel Billing, petitions for payment of his brother's arrears, the want of which has obliged his brother to borrow money at ruinous interest. Recounts his brother's services as Major of Brigade in Ireland, the rate of pay as Brigade-Major being 10*s.* per day. Mrs. Collier petitions as widow of Captain Collier for her husband's arrears.*

At the end of the year an estimate was given to the King of all his forces in Flanders, which was as follows :—

Horse,	47 squadrons, 128 troops,	8,303 private men.
Dragoons, 19	" 66 "	4,280 "
Foot,	59 battalions, 642 companies	43,726 "
Total		<u>56,509</u>

* Calendar of Treasury Papers, XXXII. to XXXV.

In a "full state" of the hospitals for the troops in Flanders, the number of men of the English Army admitted is given as 13,516, out of this number 910 died, 217 only being from wounds.

The cost of the men in hospital was about nine stivers a day, out of which the men paid five stivers, the remainder being paid by the King.

The regiment was quartered on its return home this year at Tower Hamlets.*

* Home Office, King William's Chest, formerly Sealed Bag, No. 15.

CHAPTER IX.

END OF THE "QUEEN'S" SERVICES IN THE
NETHERLANDS—PEACE OF RYSWICK.

1696.

CONTENTS.—Attempted Insurrection in England—Troops sent home from Flanders—The Regiment arrives in England—Betrayal of the Conspirators by Prendergast—Sir John Fenwick taken and tried—His confession—King reviews the Army—Campaign opened by Villoroy—The Armies manœuvro against each other—Prince Vaudemont prevents Villoroy breaking through the Allies' Lines—Army retires to Winter Quarters—The Regiment marched from London—At Birmingham, Wolverhampton and adjacents—Moved to Hampshire—Statement of increase of pay and Memorials for payment—Strength of Regiment—Warrant for payment of contingent money for 1691-2—Estimate of Forces and Cost—Claims of Officers' widows—Regiment quartered in Surrey and Hants—Regiment ordered to Flanders—Embarked at Greenwich—King leaves for Holland—Strength of the Allies—French King threatens Namur and Brussels—King William frustrates design—French capture Aeth—The Queen's join the Allies at Cockleberg, near Gembloux—Negotiations for Peace commenced—Marshal Boufflers and the Duke of Portland meet to arrange terms of Treaty—Preliminaries of the Peace of Ryswick—Treaty signed—Troops return home—Marching orders for the Regiment from Coast, to Yarmouth and Lynn—Return of the King to England—Received with great demonstrations of joy—Commons desire to disband all Forces raised since 29th September 1680—King resents this desire—Memorials of Colonels for repayment of Money advanced by them on Tailies—Strength of Regiment—Reduction of Regiment—Petition of Catherine Lovelace for arrears of pay of Captain Percy Kirk, killed in West Indies—Regiment quartered in Norfolk—Strength of Regiment—Regiments to be disbanded—The Regiment to be reduced—Cost of Regiment—Cost of Army—Dutch Blue Guards to be disbanded—Rule of subsistence of Regiment—Regiment moved to Portsmouth and Isle of Wight—Parliament presses for further reduction in Army—Petition the King—Small detachment of Regiment sent to Newfoundland—Estimate of Arrears due to Regiment—Petition on behalf of Soldiers' arrears of pay—Parliament take into consideration half-pay Accounts—Duel between Captain Kirk and Mr. Conway Seymour—Death of Seymour—Warrants for payment of Officers' widows and rates of pension—Subsistence—Arrears of pay to Regiment.

THE "Queen's," though they were sent this year for a short time to the Netherlands, did not long remain there, being ordered home in consequence of the discovery of a conspiracy against the Government.

On the 24th February the King went to the House of Peers, and informed the assembled senators that he had received certain information of a conspiracy against him, and that the design included an invasion of the Kingdom and his assassination. He also informed them that he had given orders to the Fleet to guard the shores, and had sent for troops home. The "Queen's" were amongst the ten battalions that were ordered home; they were expected to arrive in the Thames about the middle of March. In a marching order dated 17th of that month, they were ordered to land at Blackwall and to "march to Stepney, Mile End, and the Hamlets of our Tower of London." They were to relieve the regiment commanded by the Marquis de Puissar on duty in the Tower.

The conspiracy, had it been successful, would have changed the history of this country, for it would have reseated James, not, it is feared, much changed by his trials, on the throne. The memoirs of the Duke of Berwick, written by himself, give some interesting particulars of this abortive attempt of James to recover his lost Kingdom. The deposed King had privately concerted measures for an insurrection, and had sent over to England a number of officers; 2,000 horse had been raised by his adherents in England, and many persons of high rank had promised their assistance as soon as the plans were ripe for action.

The King of France entered most actively into the scheme, but insisted that before he embarked his troops (which were to be commanded by the Marquis de Harcourt) for England, the English adherents should be in arms. This determination of Louis and the timidity of the English conspirators, obliged the Duke of Berwick to risk a journey to England, to endeavour to convince the people of the sincerity of the court of France. The Duke succeeded in reaching London in disguise, and had repeated conferences with the principal noblemen in the plot, but was unable to induce them to rise until they were convinced that James had landed with an army on the English coast. The noble emissary is very candid in his memoirs, and states that he thinks the reasons they gave were good, the principal argument being that as soon as King William discovered the plot he would at once block up all the ports with his Fleet, and it would be impossible for the French troops under James to land. The insurgents would then have had to face the veteran troops of King William with their raw untrained levies, and another Sedgemoor would have been the result.

The Duke, learning during his stay in London that a conspiracy was on foot against the life of King William, determined, as he had no desire to be confounded with this plot, to depart. After

landing in France he met King James on his way to Calais, and told him all his news. The King, however, continued his course to Calais, and sent Berwick to give an account of what he had learned to the King of France. The conspirators in England were betrayed to King William by one Prendergast, and on the 23rd February twenty of them were arrested. They were tried by special court and executed. Sir George Barclay, a Scottish baronet, was one of the most active of the conspirators, and a man named Charnock was the one appointed to seize the person of the King. Sir John Fenwick, another of the prime movers in the plot, was apprehended later in the year, brought to trial, and was executed on the 28th January in the following year. In Fenwick's confession, sent to the King by the Duke of Devonshire on 14th August, he incriminated a number of noble persons in the Army, Navy, and Civil Services. "As for the Army," Fenwick writes in his confession, "King James depended upon my Lord Marlborough's interest, who can do what he pleases with most of those who served in King James his time. At their going into Ireland, Major-General Kirk and Maine, and some other inferior officers, had promised to join but none performed."*

William, after these harassing affairs in England, was glad to leave and join his troops in Holland, which he did on the 7th of May.

On the 27th May he reviewed his Army at Marienkirk (or Marykirk), near Ghent. Not much was, however, done this year, for the King was hampered by want of money. The French King had strengthened his forces by the army corps that had been engaged in Italy, a peace having been patched up with the Duke of Savoy, and the troops engaged in that enterprise set free. The campaign was opened by Villeroy, who again commanded the "Grand" Army. Boufflers commanded an army corps encamped on the side of the canal leading from Ghent to Bruges. Villeroy was encamped on the plains of Cambronne. The allies had also two army corps. The Flanders corps, encamped near Ghent, was commanded by Prince Vaudemont, who was opposed to Villeroy, the other was the "Brabant" corps, commanded by King William himself, and had for its opponent Marshal Boufflers. The campaign was a series of marches and manœuvres. King William tried hard to force the French Marshal to give him battle, but when he advanced the French retired, having apparently received orders not to risk a battle.

The last move of this year's campaign was an attempt of Villeroy to break through the allied lines near Bruges. Prince Vaudemont,

* Home Office, King William's Sealed Bag, 1696, 1697, No. 16.

however, posted six battalions of English troops with some cannon before the line, while the rest of the Army stood to their arms. Twelve thousand chosen French troops advanced to within 300 paces of the English, "who, with their muskets and guns, so received them that they were necessitated immediately to retire."

The King returned to England on the 6th of October, without having had a single fight. The Army had retired to their winter quarters about the middle of September. Colonel H. Blood wrote to the King from Bruges on 8/18 October, sending him a draft of the camp and "retrenchment to cover Bruges from the insults of the French," and also a draft of the canal between Ghent and Bruges, that the King might see how Prince Vaudemont had disposed his Army to cover both the town and canal. These plans are most interesting and valuable.†

The regiment on 27th March was moved from London, and posted as follows:—One company at Brentwood, one at Ingatestone, one at Enfield, one at Bellericay and Hutton, one at Chipping Ongar and Blacke Hall, one at Harlow and Hatfield; two at Hoddesdon, Wormely, Broxbourne, Cheshunt, Cheshunt Street, and Waltham Cross; one at Waltham Abbey; and three at Ware, Amwell, Wades Mill, and Stanstead.

They remained here and in the neighbourhood of the several quarters with some few changes, until the regiment received orders on the 26th August to march to the following places:—Two companies to Litchfield, two to Stafford and Penkridge, one to Wolverhampton, two to Birmingham, one to Bridgnorth, one to Bewdly, one to Kidderminster, one to Burton, one to Dudley and Starbridge (Stourbridge), and one to Tamworth. On 26th October the regiment was again moved to the following places:—One company to Ringwood, Christchurch, and Lymington, one to Ovington and Abbots-Worthy, one to Stockbridge and Alresford, one to Cranborne and Fordingbridge, one to Kingsclere, Whitechurch, and Overton, one to Andover, one to Hartley-Row, and Hartford Bridge, one to Bagshot, Frimley, and Blackwater, two to Farnham, one to Chertsey, Walton, Esher, and Weybridge, one to Ockham, and one to Hugerford, Chilton, and Ramsbury. Afterwards changes were made in their quarters, amongst others, the men at Bagshot and Frimley were "enlarged" into the parish of Ash, and of the two companies at Farnham, two-thirds were sent from there to Guildford and the remaining third to Godalming. This last change of quarters was ordered on the 31st December.

* Luttrells' Diary, Vol. 4, p.

† Home Office, King William's Sealed Bag, 1696-1697, No. 16.

There seems to have been considerable arrears of pay due to the regiment, according to a paper in the British Museum.* The account is there stated as follows:—

		£	s.	d.
Arrears of pay due from 1st April 1692 to 31st March 1693	1693	1,453	11	9
„ „ „ „ 1693	1694	1,701	6	9
„ „ „ „ 1694	1695	1,597	0	11
„ „ „ „ 1695	1696	3,727	11	7
		<u>£8,479</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>0</u>

The establishment of the regiment remained the same, viz.:—Thirteen companies, forty-four officers, 104 non-commissioned officers, and 780 men; total strength 928. Pay per annum 16,145*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Number of servants allowed, sixty-nine.

A warrant was issued in February for the payment to Colonel Selwyn of 77*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* for the expenses of the regiment which served in the year 1692. Another warrant in the same month is as follows:—Contingent money disbursed by Colonel Selwyn's regiment on their march from Highlake to Deptford, where they embarked for Holland, in the year 1691/2, and their march from Deptford, after their return, to Portsmouth in the year 1692.

	Miles.	£	s.	d.
From Highlake to Neston, 13 carts at 6 <i>d.</i> per mile	8	2	12	0
To Chester	8	2	12	0
„, Whitchurch	14	4	11	0
„, Newport	14	4	11	0
„, Bridgenorth	14	4	11	0
„, Kidderminster	10	3	5	0
„, Worcester	12	3	18	0
„, Evesham	14	4	11	0
„, Stow-in-the-Wolds	14	4	17	6
„, Chipping Norton	6	1	19	0
„, Woodstock	9	2	8	6
„, Oxford	6	1	19	0
„, Wallingford	12	3	11	0
„, Henley	10	3	5	0
„, Colebrook	13	4	17	6
„, Kingston	7	2	5	6
„, Deptford	13	4	4	6
From Deptford to Twickenham	14	4	11	0
To Chertsey	7	2	5	6
„, Alton	†14	4	11	0
„, Alresford	8	2	12	0
„, Bishops-Waltham	12	3	18	0
„, Portsmouth	12	3	18	0
	<u>253</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>

* Army Expenses, 10,123, p. 145.

† There is apparently an error in this distance as given in the warrant.

	Days.	£	s.	d.
Candles and firing from the 1st January to the 4th March, being 62 days, and from 4th May to 24th June, being 50 days, at 3s. per day ...	112	16	19	0
		99	0	0
Poundage of 99 <i>l.</i>		4	10	0
		<u>£103</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>

This is a true account of the disbursements made by the officers of Colonel Selwyn's regiment for their several marches for the time within mentioned.

GEO. WOSCOMBE, Major.

A memorial was presented to the Lords of the Treasury on the 16th June from several colonels who served in the wars in Ireland, praying for payment of arrears due to them, and offering, if their Lordships would give them tallies in any fund, to procure a loan of 25,000*l.* The amount stated as due to fifteen regiments (Colonel Selwyn's being one, and his amount 1,196*l.* 1*s.* 5½*d.*) is given as 26,758*l.* 10*s.* 4½*d.**

A memorial was sent on the 30th June to the Lords of the Treasury from Colonel Selwyn and the officers of the regiment, with the accounts of the late Lieutenant-General Kirk. From this memorial it would appear that there was owing to Kirk 1,965*l.* for pay. 1,000*l.* of this he had drawn for his own use and for the pay of his officers. Their Lordships agreed to a sum being allowed that would satisfy all the officers' claims.†

In the Treasury Papers, Vol. XLVII., No. 22, is a beautifully written list of the land forces which His Majesty had at that time in his pay. The quota and cost of every regiment is given, by which it appears that Selwyn's regiment cost 16,145*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* per annum, and consisted of thirteen companies, forty-four commissioned officers, 104 non-commissioned officers, and 780 private men, or a total quota of 928.

The estimate of the forces required this year, according to the House of Commons Journals, was—

Horse	11,853
Dragoons	6,245
Foot	69,342
Total	<u>87,440</u>

and the cost of the whole was estimated at 2,007,881*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.*

* Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1557-1696, Vol. XXXVIII., No. 49.

† Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1557-1696, Vol. XXXVIII., No. 72.

	£	s.	d.
In addition to this sum of	2,007,881	19	11
was: cost of general officers ...	31,058	8	6
Train	210,773	4	5
Transports, hospitals, and contingencies, and other extraordinary charges of the war	400,000	0	0
Making a grand total of ...	2,709,713	12	10

In the claims of various bills of costs this year is one from Elizabeth Culliford, administratrix of Captain William Webster, for the balance of his respited pay in the regiment in Ireland, amounting to 82*l.* 10*s.*, which sum was said to be due to the claimant for the use of the said Captain Webster's children.*

The regiment remained quartered in Surrey and Hants, with occasional changes and enlargements of quarters, till they were ordered to Flanders. In January one of the companies at Ockham was ordered to be forthwith enlarged to Bradfield, Bracknell, and Winkfield in Berks, a detachment was also ordered to Yately, Eversley, and adjacents. In February a detachment at Fleet was ordered to be enlarged to Eversley.

On the 11th May a letter was received by Brigadier Selwyn from the Lords Justices, instructing him to forthwith put his regiment in readiness to march away. The accounts were to be made up at once, and the agent was ordered to be at Lord Ranelagh's office the next day to receive money for the march. When the order came on the 18th, the regiment was ordered to proceed from its present quarters to the Redhouse near Blackheath; upon arriving there they were to embark forthwith on transport ships waiting there to carry them to Flanders. Separate and particular orders were sent on the 26th to the three companies at Farnborough and Bagshot and places adjacent, and to the three companies quartered at Dorking, Guildford, Godalming, and Farnham, to march to Blackheath. The remaining companies quartered in Faringdon, Montague, Cranborne, Ringwood, Andover, Kingsclere, Ockham, and Stockbridge marched to Windsor, Staines, Egham, Kingston, Richmond, Mortlake, Brentford, Clapham, Tooting, and Fulham, remaining quartered in the places nearest

* Establishment and Pay same as before Treasury, Military, Miscellaneous, 1701.2, March 8, Bundle 1, No. 6.

London till the transports were reported ready to receive them.

The "Queen's" were to go to Flanders with Trelawney's and Erle's or Stuart's regiment. The following order was sent from the War Minister at Whitehall on 29th June to the Commissioners of Transport.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM to acquaint you the Lords Justices have ordered the regiments of Brigadier Selwyn and Brigadier Trelawney to embark at Greenwich, and Major-General Erle's at Tilbury, on Thursday the 1st July (o.s.). They are to be put on shore at the first port in Zealand they can make, and the Horse at Williamstadt. As soon as I know when the convoy will meet the transports I will send you word.*

GEORGE CLARKE,

Secretary at War,
in the absence of M. Blathwayt.

The Cavalry were all on board by Thursday, and "sayled from the buoy in the Nore and were before night out of signal, so that by this time it is believed they have arrived at Williamstadt; the other three regiments, viz., Major-General Erle's, Brigadier-General Trelawney's, and one more" (the "Queen's") "are also on their road to embark; and about the 1st of July all the regiments of Foot at present in this Kingdom except the garrisons are to encamp on Blackheath."†

The King left Kensington on the 24th April, embarking at Margate for Holland on the 25th. Landing the next day at Holland, he at once set off to join the head-quarters of the Army at Bois-Signior-Isaac. He did not arrive at the camp till 24th May. Having ascertained that the French King was stronger by 30,000 men, he determined to proceed with caution. The allies were some 100,000 strong, divided as before into two army corps, one in Brabant commanded by the King, consisting of eighty-two battalions, thirty-six squadrons, the other commanded by the Elector, consisted of sixty battalions and thirty-six squadrons. He had besides two flying camps, one near Namur the other near Newport. Thirty-one battalions were posted near Louvain, at which place was a large magazine of forage for the camp at Waterloo.‡

A letter, dated June, 7/17, from the King's, camp at Promelles gives some particulars of the movements of the French. Small

* War Office, Miscellany Book, 1697, No. 517, p. 42.

† Luttrell's Diary, Vol. IV., p. 235.

‡ Luttrell's Diary, Vol. IV., pp. 214, 218.

detachments had passed through Charleroi towards the Meuse, and they were reported to have sent their heavy cannon to Mons. King William had sent to view the ground at Anderlech, from whence the French bombarded Brussels in 1695, in order to arrange a line of defence for the town. The foremost of the troops coming from the Rhine were expected on the 8th. The French had been boasting in the spring of their intention to attack and take Namur, and they also, it was said, designed to take Brussels.

The King had, in his speech from the throne to his Parliament, alluded to a possibility that an honourable peace might soon put an end to the war. Plenipotentiaries had been appointed by the several Powers to meet and discuss the terms of a treaty with the Ministers of France, but the astute French King thought that by obtaining possession of Brussels he might be able to dictate his own terms of peace.

A letter from Cocklebury Camp, dated 14/24 June, gave full particulars of King William's movements on hearing of the design of the French King against Brussels. On Saturday, the 12/22 June, the reconnoitring Cavalry informed him that the Armies of the French were in motion, that of Boufflers moving towards Braine le Comte, that of Villeroy to attack Croix or Hal, and that of Mons. Catinat to Escoraff (?) on the Scheldt, the evident design being to seize Anderlech, and from that place to threaten Brussels. King William was, however, too quick for them. He immediately gave orders for a sudden night march, and by ten a.m. on the morning of the 13th most of the Dragoons and 10 brigades of Foot had possessed themselves of the camp at Anderlech, during the rest of the day the troops were marching into the camp. The French were greatly chagrined at finding their design for the possession of Brussels frustrated, but it was reported that they never were in favour of attacking Andinard or of besieging Namur. They, however, had some small consolation in the capture of the town of Aeth, or Ath, which fell into their hands on the 5th June.

After these two events King William encamped with part of his Army at Cocklebury (or Cockleberg), near Gembloux, while the Elector of Bavaria's corps was at Deysne, on the Lys, south-west of Ghent. Here the "Queen's" with the two other regiments joined the Army on the 4th July. No further movements were made, both sides waiting to see if anything would result from the negotiations. King William, unable to rest, spent a great deal of his time in reviews of his troops. The plenipotentiaries, Earl of Pembroke on the part of England, and Harley on the part of France, with the agents of Germany and Spain, Sweden, and the other minor Powers, had met

many times at Neuburg House, a palace belonging to William in the village of Ryswick, but up to the end of June nothing had been concluded. This inactivity and delay was more than King William could endure, so he ordered the Duke of Portland to confer with Boufflers, if the French King would give his consent. Louis, when applied to, gave his permission, ordering only that Boufflers should go to meet the Duke of Portland with all the "dignity becoming a Marshal of France who commands one of my armies." These two met on the 8th July at the village of Bracom, a short distance from Hal. After the sixth meeting terms were arranged, the treaty being signed on the 20th September at Ryswick between France, England, the States General, and Spain. The Emperor of Germany did not sign till the 19th October (o.s.). Thus ended a long, arduous, and bloody war; but one in which the genius of William as a warrior and a strategist stands out pre-eminent.

As soon as the Peace was signed orders were given for the troops to return. At the beginning of October preparations were begun, and a movement made towards the coast. Some of the transports, however, did not arrive till December, but the "Queen's" must have got away earlier, for we find a marching order, dated 27th November, ordering the regiment to march from their present quarters, as follows:—"Five companies to Norwich, four to Yarmouth, two to King's Lynn, one to Brockley, one to Bungay." On the 3rd December one of the companies at Yarmouth was transferred to North Walsham.

In view of the arrival of the troops the War Minister, Blathwayte, had ordered that the first regiment that arrived from Ostend was to march the same day to Crayford and Dartford, the next day to Greenwich and Deptford, on the third day to Rotherhith (Rotherhithe), Southwark, Lambeth, and Vauxhall, where they were to remain till further orders.

The treaty of Ryswick was really a great triumph for King William, the articles, besides those dealing with the cessation of hostilities and the restitution of properties taken during the war, guaranteed the peaceable possession of the throne of England to the King, who was for the first time in the French papers styled King of Great Britain, the French King giving him his word not to disturb him in his possession.

Having completed all arrangements for the return of his troops, the King left Holland. He arrived at Margate on the 13th November (o.s.), and made a public entry into London three days later, amidst the greatest demonstrations of joy, that touched even his cold phlegmatic nature; his sword was carried before him in

state by the Lord Mayor. The 2nd December (o.s.) was kept as a public day of thanksgiving.

So many errors have crept into history by the difference in the rotation of time, that it may be interesting here to note how this change came on. Julius Cæsar believed the true year to be 365 days six hours, and he provided for the six hours by repeating the sixth of the kalends of March once in four years. His calculation of time was, however, eleven minutes and some seconds in excess of the actual length of the day. The priests misunderstood Cæsar's order and made a leap year every three instead of every four years. Errors that had crept in were attempted to be rectified by Pope Gregory, who took ten days from the Calendar, and he fixed by an enactment that for three centuries after 1600 every hundredth year was not to receive an intercalary day, as by the Julian system it would have done, but the fourth hundred year was to be bissextile or leap year; 1896 would thus be a leap year, then there would be seven ordinary years, 1904 being the next leap year.

The Gregorian time is, however, now proved to be twenty-six seconds shorter than he took it to be, and this would bring about an error of a day every 128 years instead of 134.

The Gregorian Calendar, approved by a bull dated 24th February 1582, was not generally adopted by the States of Europe till 1700, and not by England till the reign of George II., when it was enacted by Act of Parliament that the day following the 2nd of September 1752 should be the 14th, one day having to be added to the difference since the papal bull in 1582, making it eleven instead of ten days' difference. Considerable disturbances took place between the Protestants and Catholics of Germany, particularly at Augsburg, on account of the Calendar. It was agreed after the Peace of Ryswick that the Protestants should adopt the reformed Calendar.

The change in England in 1752 was very unpopular. The mob thought they had been robbed of part of their life, and the disturbing cry was, "Give us back our eleven days."*

As soon as the troops began to arrive home, the House of Commons resolved themselves into a Committee of the whole House, to take into consideration that part of the King's speech made to the house on the 7th December relating to the standing army. The Committee sat for five hours, when, without dividing, they resolved, that all the land forces raised since 29th September 1680, in the reign of King Charles II., should be paid off and disbanded. The Army would then consist of only the three troops of

* *Archæologia*, Vol. 52, Part 1, pp. 114, 115.

Horse Guards, Earl of Oxford's Regiment of Horse (Blues), the two regiments of Foot Guards, and Dumbarton's (1st), Kirk's (2nd), and Trelawney's (4th) Regiments, with five other regiments of Foot, "three of which were always in the Dutch service." The whole computed to be about 9,000 men.

The House of Commons could not get over their rooted objection to a standing army, and though they were proud of and satisfied with King William, they were determined, if possible, to reduce the Army to what it was in 1680. The reduction was not, however, after all, carried to the extent proposed, the King fighting hard against what he considered to be an imprudent weakening of the forces of the Crown.

A memorial was sent in May to the Lords of the Treasury from Colonels Lord Oxford, R. Leveson, W. Selwyn, and H. Trelawney, "who have advanced money, for the obtaining what was due to them to the 1st April 1692," to which time the rest of the Army was cleared. In this memorial they state carefully and fully the great expense they have been put to by the delays in payment, and the loss they have had by reason of their having taken two-thirds of their pay in tallies, "by which they lost £25 or £30 per cent." They strongly urged their case, and insisted that it was hard to make the officers and men believe that they have not received the long overdue amounts. In any case, they pray that they may be reimbursed the extraordinary charges they were put to in raising the 25,000*l.* "according to the rate money was to be had at the time, and the discount of the tallies they were obliged to take for it."*

In a list of the land forces of the Crown from the same authority, Selwyn's regiment is given as ten companies of thirty-six men each; commissioned officers, thirty-one; non-commissioned officers, fifty-four; private men, 366; total, 445. The disbanded companies were Bickerstaff's, Kingsley's, and Arnott's. The pay of the disbanded officers were as follows:—

Captain, 4 <i>s.</i> ; and 1 <i>s.</i> for three servants	...	Total	5	0
Lieutenants, 2 <i>s.</i> ; and 4 <i>d.</i> for one servant	...	"	2	4
Ensigns, 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> ; and 4 <i>d.</i> for one servant	...	"	1	10

In another paper the reduction of the Queen's is given as from sixty men per company to forty-two; but as this included servants it no doubt gave the same number of effective fighting men, viz., thirty-six per company. The number of non-commissioned officers per company was two sergeants, three corporals, and

* Calendar of Treasury Papers, Vol. XLV., No. 59.

one drummer, the Grenadier company having an extra sergeant and an extra drummer.

The colonel commanding the regiment was ordered, on the disbandment of the men, to see that the arms of the reduced men were returned into the stores of the Ordnance, "so that it will be incumbent upon each colonel that the King's pleasure hereon be duly observed." All the regiments in the Army, except the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers, were obliged by the King's orders to have a proportionate number of Pikes in their respective regiments.*

A sum of 200*l.* was granted by King's warrant for waggon money, and for the transport of baggage, &c. of the regiment. The warrant gave varying sums to the other regiments proceeding home.†

A petition was presented on April 6th by Catherine Lawrence, administratrix of her son in-law, Captain Piercy Kirk, who was a captain in Lord Carmarthen's Regiment of Marines, for the payment of his arrears of pay, amounting to 135*l.* Captain Kirk was killed in action in the West Indies (no date given). From the name he was most likely a son of the old Tangier's colonel.

The regiment remained the whole year quartered in Norfolk, with slight changes of quarters. Besides the places mentioned in the previous year, detachments were quartered at various times in this year and the next at Harleston, Methwold, Buckenham, Attleborough, Wymondham, and Hingham. One of the companies of the regiment quartered at Wymondham was changed on 1st December to Hingham. The strength of the regiment was given in the early part of the year as 109 officers and non-commissioned officers and 520 privates; total, 629.‡

In another paper entitled "A list of all the land forces now in England on English pay under the care of Earl of Ranelagh, Paymaster-General,"§ amongst the troops mentioned is Brigadier Selwyn's regiment, which is given as consisting of thirteen companies, forty-one commissioned officers, sixty-eight non-commissioned officers, fifty-four servants, and 466 private men. A memorandum in this paper states that "over and above the aforesaid numbers there are four companies formed of maimed and decrepid soldiers, each company consisting of 150 private men besides officers." These poor fellows were quartered at Windsor, Hampton Court

* War Office, Miscellaneous Book, 1697-1746, Vol. 519.

† Treasury, Military Miscellany, 1701/2, March 8, Bundle 1, No. 6.

‡ Army Expenses, B.M. 10,123, p. 69.

§ Official Papers relating to the Army, 1698-1715, B.M., 22,616, and Land Forces, p. 5.

Tynemouth, and Chester, and were allowed fivepence per day pay, besides a suit of clothes once in two years.

An order was received by Brigadier Selwyn on 18th July that his regiment was to be reduced, and establishment was to be as under:—

Field and staff officers:—One colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, one chaplain, adjutant and quartermaster in one person; one company, captain, lieutenant, ensign or 2nd lieutenant, two sergeants, two corporals, one drummer, and forty private soldiers. Twelve companies more to consist of the same numbers, with the addition of one sergeant, one corporal, and a drummer to the Grenadier company.* The field officers and captains were allowed two servants each, the other officers one.

A letter of Sir J. Williamson,† dated 18th February, gives an account of nine regiments having arrived in Ireland from Flanders, and states that it was intended to send ten more Foot regiments there. The regiments remaining in England were to be reduced to thirty men per company. A later letter the same month gives the names of seven regiments that were to be disbanded in England, and of eight more that were ordered for Ireland.

The War Minister, Blathwayte, writing on 21st February with reference to the seven regiments, says that the King was anxious that they should be disbanded as soon as possible, and was also pleased to order that 100*l.* each be paid to Brigadier Selwyn and Brigadier Fairfax and 150*l.* to Sir Charles O'Hara to enable them to proceed on this service.

Two letters in March and April report that out of ten regiments ordered for Ireland seven were, instead of proceeding there, disbanded at Portsmouth.

In the Army expenses for this year an account is given of arrears due to the regiment, which is there stated as 914*l.* 13*s.* 11½*d.* The muster rolls give this as only 330*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.* The total annual cost of the regiment is given as 9,532*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* The arrears stated to be due to the regiment were as follows:—

				£	s.	d.
Arrears of subsistence in Flanders	...	...	...	799	9	10
Arrears of pay	...	...	...	14,708	4	6
Total	...	...	...	15,507	14	4

The King, though apparently willing, now the war was over, to reduce the Army (in accordance with the desire of both Houses), was amazed at their determination to reduce it to so small a number. The amount voted this year for the maintenance of the

* War Office, Miscellaneous Book, 1697–1706, Vol. 519.

† State Papers, Domestic, 1698, January, February, No. 12.

force was only 350,000*l*. Tracts were issued by the advocates of "fancifull" liberty, as the King called them, maintaining that a standing army was inconsistent with a free government and inconsistent with the English Constitution. Amongst the troops that were to be disbanded foreigners were particularly included. The favourite Dutch Blue Guards of William, who had followed all his fortunes and to whom he was particularly attached, were not allowed to be excepted.

An interesting paper was sent, on the 14th March, to the Lords of the Treasury by the Lords Justices of Ireland with reference to particulars of the Army debt in Ireland. In this paper it is stated that "from the first January to the end of March 1692, each company in a regiment consisted of three sergeants, two drummers, and sixty men, but the establishment was altered on the 1st January 1692 (but came not to Ireland till April following) to two sergeants one drummer, and fifty men." This difference of establishment for this three months is charged to the officers, which the Lords Justices consider wrong, and ask for relief for them. The rate of subsistence in the English establishment was 6*d*. per day, and in the Irish only 4*d*. This difference of 2*d*. per day was to be "vouched for by the King's letters."*

A curious instance of the state of society at this period is found in the petition of a Captain McCourtney, who was "set upon six several times" for the misdeeds of another Captain Henry Courtney, at one time a captain in the Queen's regiment, who was said to be a conspirator and "a thousand pounds man." The unfortunate Courtney was robbed of 107*l*., lay eighteen weeks in prison, which laid him up on a bed of sickness and cost him 50*l*. The Lords only gave him 100*l*., out of secret service money, in full compensation of all pretensions.† On 21st May 1670, this Captain Henry Courtney petitioned the Lords Treasurers for payment of 300*l*. he alleged to be due to him for expenses in raising a company for Kirk's regiment in Ireland. He stated in his petition that he had made enemies by exposing frauds of so-called officers obtaining money from Government, and his enemies had tried to murder him. He stated he went in continual fear of his life. Courtney was ill of ague in Dublin 1692, when the regiment left, and he evidently never again joined. It is not clear whether he was an unfortunate man or a conspirator.

The establishment of the regiment is given in Journals of the House of Commons as thirteen companies, forty-one commissioned officers, sixty-eight non-commissioned officers, fifty-four servants, and 546 private men, excluding servants.

* Treasury Papers, LIV., No. 15.

† Treasury Papers, LIV., No. 40.

On the 23rd February 1699 the regiment received orders to march from Norfolk to quarters in Portsmouth, with two companies at the Isle of Wight; one of these was on 20th June ordered to rejoin the regiment at Portsmouth.

The House of Commons, still jealous of the strength and power of the standing Army (though it had been greatly reduced in the preceding year), in the early part of this year, insisted upon a further and substantial reduction. They had in 1697 proposed to reduce it to what it was in 1680; they now insisted that the establishment of the Army should be as follows:—

Horse, including four troops of Guards and nine troops of					
Earl of Oxford's Regiment, Lumley's nine troops 1st					
Dragoon Guards, Wood's 3rd, Arran's 5th, Windham's 6th,					
Duke of Schomberg's 7th, and Macclesfield's Dragoon					
Guards; Lord Roby's, Lloyd's and Essex Dragoons	...	...	...	...	3,588
Foot, 1st and 2nd Regiment of Guards	...	...	...	...	2,077
Selwyn's (the Queen's 2nd)	...	...	...	...	445
Churchill's (the Buffs 3rd)	...	...	...	...	445
Trelawney's (the King's 4th)	...	...	...	...	445
				—	3,412
					<u>7,000</u>

The companies of the Guards were to be forty strong, and the companies of the other three regiments thirty-six strong each company. The Queen's were to have ten companies, thirty-six men in each, the establishment being given in a paper* as follows:—"One regiment of Foot under the command of our trusty and well-beloved William Selwyn, Esq., consisting of him as colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, a major, a chaplain, ten captains, whereof the said colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major are three, ten lieutenants, ten ensigns, a chirurgeon and one mate, an adjutant, a quartermaster, a drum-major, twenty sergeants, twenty corporals, ten drummers, and 360 private men." The three youngest companies (the Grenadiers only excepted), with the three youngest captains, the three youngest ensigns, were to be disbanded.

The King had stoutly resisted the disbanding of his Dutch Guards, who had been reduced with the others in the year before, but the Commons were determined that they should form no exception to the order about the disbandment of foreigners. They therefore, on the 20th March, sent the following address to the King:—

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE, your Majestie's most dutiful and loyal subjects and Commons in Parliament assembled, out of the unfeigned zeal to your Majestie's present Government (which God long preserve), do most humbly represent to your

* Domestic State Papers, 1699, No. 13.

Majesty that the passing the late Act for disbanding the Army gave great satisfaction to your subjects, and the readinesse your Majesty expres^t, in your message to comply with the punctual execution thereof doth prevent all occasions of distrust and jealousy between your Majesty and your subjects. It is, Sir, to your loyal Commons unspeakable grief that your Majesty should be advised to propose anything in your message to which they cannot consent, with due regard to the Constitution which your Majesty came over to restore, and have so often exposed your Royal Person to preserve; and did in your gracious declaration promise that all other foreign forces that came over with you should be sent back. In duty, therefore, to your Majesty, and to discharge the trust reposed in us, we claim leave to lay before you that nothing conduces more to the happiness and welfare of this kingdom than our entire confidence between your Majesty and your people which can no way be so firmly established as by entrusting your Sacred person with your own subjects, who have so eminently signalized themselves upon all occasions during the late and expensive war."

On 28th February there appears in the House of Commons Journals an estimate of the arrears due to the officers and men of the three companies of the "Queen's" regiment disbanded in England. The amount due to officers was 2,590*l.*, and to non-commissioned officers and men 503*l.*; total 3,093*l.*

A petition was, on the 14th March, presented to the House of Commons by Henry Lane on behalf of the widows and relations of the soldiers who served in the regiment under Colonel Kirk and Brigadier Selwyn for their arrears of pay from 1690 to 1692, where it is stated that the amount due to each man was 14*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*

On the 7th April the House of Commons took into consideration the half-pay to be given to officers disbanded since 10th September. On the 29th it was resolved to allow this half-pay, but it was only to be given to those who served in English regiments and were on the muster of their regiments at the time of disbandment.*

On the 29th May a detachment of ten men of the regiment were sent from Portsmouth to Newfoundland. The order does not state for what service they were sent.

A duel was fought on Sunday, 4th June, between Captain Kirk (who afterwards commanded the Queen's), of Lord Oxford's regiment, and Mr. Conway Seymour. Kirk seems to have been the aggressor, for meeting Seymour as both were walking in St. James's Park, he remarked in the hearing of Seymour, "There goes Beau Seymour," whereupon the civilian slapped the soldier's face. They at once went off to a retired place and engaged with swords. Mr. Seymour was dangerously wounded by Kirk in two places. The unfortunate gentleman lingered for a little over a fortnight,

* Journals of the House of Commons, 1697-1699, Vol. XII.

when he died. Kirk was introduced into the dying chamber of his opponent by Duke Schomberg to ask pardon of him for his hurt. Seymour told him he forgave him with all his heart. He died on Sunday the 18th (o.s.). Kirk was suspended from his commission, and a bill for murder having been returned against him by the coroner, he and his second, Captain Gage, escaped to France. He returned, however, to England in October and surrendered himself for trial. He was brought up before the Court on the 30th January, and remanded till the last day of the term, being admitted to bail, his sureties being the Duke of Richmond, Major-General Erle, Brigadier Trelawney, and Colonel Ray. He was afterwards released.

There are a number of warrants at the beginning of this year for payments to the widows of officers killed in the Flanders Wars. The rates of pension paid were, lieutenant-colonel's widow 40*l.*, captain's 30*l.*, lieutenant's 20*l.* In March a warrant was issued with respect to the regulation of the subsistence to be paid weekly to a regiment of Foot as follows:—

				Per diem.			
				<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Colonel and Captain ...	...	...	...	10	0	and 2	0 for 4 servants
Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain ...	...	...	...	7	6	„ 1	0 „ 2 „
Major and Captain ...	...	...	...	6	6	„ 1	0 „ 2 „
Seven Captains ...	...	...	...	4	0	„ 7	0 „ 14 „
Eleven Lieutenants ...	...	...	...	2	0	„ 5	6 „ 11 „
Nine Ensigns ...	...	...	...	1	6	„ 4	6 „ 9 „
Chaplain ...	...	...	...	3	4		
Quartermaster or Adjutant ...	...	...	...	2	0		
Chirurgion and Mate ...	...	...	...	3	3		
Drum-Major ...	...	...	...	1	0		
Twenty Sergeants ...	...	...	...	6	0	each per week.	
Twenty Corporals ...	...	...	...	4	6	„	„
Ten Drummers ...	...	...	...	4	6	„	„
360 Privates (36 in each company)				3	6	„	„ *

A brigadier's pay per annum, according to a warrant for the pay of Brigadier Selwyn, was 30*s.* a day.

In the Journal of the House of Commons, dated 19th December 1699, is an abstract of the arrears of pay due to the troops in England from the 1st April 1692, when they were placed on the English establishment. In this account the amount of arrears owing to Brigadier Selwyn's regiment is given as 14,816*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*

* War Office, Warrants for Pay and Contingencies, 1694–1696. No. 792, P.R.O.

CHAPTER X.

DEATH OF KING WILLIAM — ACCESSION OF QUEEN ANNE—WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

1700.

CONTENTS.—Reflections on the Peace of Ryswick and its consequences—Tory party again in power—The Spanish Succession and Intrigues of the French King—The Hague appeals to England for help against the French—Parliament votes 10,000 Troops for an Expedition—King William decides to accompany them—Regiment quartered at Portsmouth and Isle of Wight—Sir Henry Bellasis takes command of the Regiment—The Elections—The King starts for Holland—Alliance between Holland, Austria, and England to support claims of Austria on Spanish Throne—Death of King James—King William returns to England—Parliament, anxious to prosecute the War with vigour, votes men and money—Indignation against French King for proclaiming King James' son King of England—Accident to King William—His death—Accession of Queen Anne—Marlborough appointed Captain-General of the Forces—Declaration of War by the Allies against France—The Queen's stirring speech to the Houses of Parliament—Sir Henry Bellasis ordered to increase strength of Regiment to twelve companies—Head-quarters of Regiment moved from Portsmouth to Isle of Wight—Regiment ordered to Spain—Fleet commanded by Sir George Rooke—Strength of Expedition—Army rendezvous at St. Helen's, Isle of Wight—Troops reviewed—Ships carrying the Queen's Regiment—Embarkation—Strength of Regiment—Expedition arrives at Cadiz—Review of events leading to the War of Spanish Succession—Expedition to Cadiz—Particulars of the Spanish Claimants—Fleet sails from Spithead—Land Forces commanded by Duke of Ormond—Strength and composition of Forces—Troops land to attack Cadiz—Capture of Rota—Troops pillage the country—Sir Henry Bellasis blamed—Difficulties of the advance—The attack on Cadiz abandoned—Troops re-embark—News received of the Alliance with King of Portugal—Fleet and Treasure Galleons—Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel sent to intercept them—Rooke and Ormond decide to capture French Fleet and Treasure Galleons—Fleet arrives at Vigo—Preparations for attack—Disposition of Troops on landing—Capture of the Battery—Fleet advances—Disposition of Fleet—Captain Leake in ship *Torbay* breaks through boom, and Fleet enter bay and engage French ships—Complete destruction of French Fleet and capture of the Galleons—Duke of Ormond occupies Rodondilla—Troops re-embark—List of Ships captured

and destroyed—Arrival of Sir Cloudesley Shovel and his Fleet—Sir George Rooke with Fleet and Troops arrive Home—Sir Henry Bellasis and Sir Charles O'Hara impeached for their conduct before Cadiz—Duke of Ormond lands at Deal—Regiment lands at Portsmouth and marches to Winchester—List of Ships carrying the Queen's from Vigo to Portsmouth—Reception of Sir George Rooke and Duke of Ormond in England—List of Booty taken at Vigo—List of Ships taken and destroyed—Queen orders the Booty to be delivered to the Authorities—Narrow escape from capture of the Duke of Marlborough—Account of operations of the Allies in Netherlands—Strength and cost of Regiment.

THE Peace of Ryswick did not bring peace to the internal affairs of the English nation. Parliament had, as soon as it was ratified, insisted upon substantial reductions being made in the Army and Navy, and the King, as already noted, was keenly wounded by the dismissal of his Dutch Guards, who were ordered to return to Holland. The Duke of Marlborough, who had been restored to favour and made preceptor to the young Duke of Gloucester, was, his historian thinks,* averse to the reduction of the Army and Navy, as he considered the Peace of Ryswick in the light of a mere temporary accommodation, and sided with the King in desiring to keep the forces of the Kingdom strong, particularly as their great enemy the French King was augmenting both his Army and Navy. Marlborough, who had so often incurred the resentment of William and Mary by espousing the cause of the Princess Anne in the many disputes between the Royal relations, again imperilled his position by coinciding with the views of Parliament to repay to Prince George of Denmark, her husband, the debt contracted by the King to him in the late war. The resumption of the forfeited lands in Ireland was also deeply resented by the King, as he had by grants of land there rewarded his faithful adherents. He can hardly, therefore, be blamed for his resolution of discharging the Whigs. Having, with the help of Lord Rochester, remodelled his ministry on Tory lines, he summoned a new Parliament. The elections were severely contested, and in the result the triumph of the Tories was brought about in a great measure by the alarm created in the minds of the English by the intrigues of the French King with the dying King of Spain, whereby he ultimately, after the arduous struggle in Spain, gained the Crown for his grandson Philip. The French King had before this solemnly renounced all rights to the Spanish throne, and entered into a treaty with England and Holland, called the Partition

* Coke's Life of Marlborough, Vol. I., p. 54. Edition 1885, by John Wade.

Treaty for dividing the Spanish kingdom on the death of Charles II. of Spain. Yet, when the time came and he was informed that the dead King had by will left the throne to Philip, Duke of Anjou, his grandson, he, though feigning reluctance, accepted the crown on his grandson's behalf.

The English people and their King were indignant at this breach of faith on the part of Louis, but were reluctant to recommence a war. They were, however, unable to hold back when they beheld Louis, in defiance of right, seize upon the frontier towns, including Mons, Charleroi, Namur, names inseparably associated with the valour and daring of the British troops. At last the Government of the Hague, seeing that Louis continued to send more troops into the Spanish Netherlands, became alarmed, and appealed for aid to William, and Parliament at once voted 10,000 men for an expedition. The King, though weak and feeble, decided to accompany the Army. This new campaign in the Netherlands which William was not to see the end of, but which gave some grand pages to English history and brought into greater fame one of her grandest warriors, Marlborough, is not part of our history, as the "Queen's" took no part in it. The regiment remained quartered at Portsmouth—with one company at the Isle of Wight—all the year.

Two warrants were issued on the 10th May for pay of the "Reformed" officers of the Queen's regiment from 30th September 1699 to 25th March 1700 as follows:—Captains W. Kingsley and John Arnot, 41*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* each; Captain John Bickerstaff for a less period, 23*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*; Lieutenants Hugh Phillips, Henry Godfrey, and Henry Sandys, 20*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* each. Ensigns William Danby, Francis Bickerstaff, and Robert Wanesborough, 16*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* each.*

On the 10th June orders were received that the regiment was to be forthwith recruited and filled up from thirty to forty-six private men per company, servants included. A very suitable proviso was added, viz., that the late disbanded soldiers were to be allowed to re-engage if fit for service and to be "preferred to others."

The King sent orders at the end of the year to commanding officers that they should keep their men free from meddling at the forthcoming elections. He had called together a new Parliament, and wished that the members should be returned without bias or help.

On the 20th August 1701 the detachment in the Isle of Wight was ordered to join the regiment.

* War Office, Warrants for Pay and Contingencies, 1688-1693, Vol. 792.

On the 29th June Brigadier Selwyn exchanged into the 22nd Foot, Sir Henry Bellasis taking command of the "Queen's"; his commission being dated the 28th June 1701. Selwyn did not remain long with the 22nd, for he was soon after appointed Governor of the Island of Jamaica. A letter,* dated 22nd November, states "Brigadier Selwyn, the new Governor of Jamaica, who was on board the *Bristol*, with the rest of the ships and forces is sailed forward in prosecution of his voyage." The new Governor took with him Captain Charles Nicholson, a captain in the regiment. The Treasury Papers contain a reference to a petition of his for payment of sums due to him on deferred pay.†

A letter‡ appears in the Marching Book, dated 20th November 1701, to Sir Henry Bellasis, with reference to the conduct of the regiment at the elections. The letter was as follows:—

SIR,

HIS Majesty having declared his Pleasure That Writs be issued out for the Calling a new Parliament and being desirous that the Elections be carry'd on wthout y^e least complaint or pretence of disorder from any of y^e Troops wthin the Places where such Elections are to be made Has commanded to Signify His Pleasure that you give strict Charge to y^e Reg^t under y^r comand that they do not in any manner concern themselves or Intermeddle wth such Elections.

(Signed) JA VERNON.

To Sir Henry Bellasyse.

There would appear about this time to have been some intention of sending the regiment to the West Indies. A paper in the War Office Miscellany Book refers to the regiment having suffered severely by desertion "upon a report of their going to the West Indies." Some fancied loss of benefit in their term of service appears to have been the cause of disaffection, but their grievance being remedied the desertions stopped.§

The King had had great difficulty with the Parliament, but they voted sufficient means to enable him to send assistance to the States General. He left England for Holland on the 1st July, landing at Wilhelmstadt on the 2nd. He had appointed Marlborough to command the troops abroad, and had made him Minister Plenipotentiary to the States of Holland.

Events pregnant with great issues now followed quickly. The King, who exercised considerable influence over the Dutch deputies,

* Domestic State Papers, 1700–1701, No. 16.

† Calendar of Treasury Papers, Vol. LXXIV., No. 64.

‡ War Office Marching Book, 1697, Vol. 12, p. 442.

§ War Office Marching Book, 1698–1701, Vol. 518.

concluded at Loo, on the 27th August, after much discussion, a treaty of alliance between England, Holland, and Austria, in which the contracting parties agreed to support the claims of the Archduke Charles of Austria, and to take active measures against France for the recovery of Italy and Flanders, if an amicable settlement seemed impossible.

The event of the death of the exiled King James, and the recognition by the French King of the son of James as the King of England, made the nation furious, and decided King William to return to England at the earliest possible moment. Before leaving the Army he, on the 21st September, reviewed the Guards and the rest of the garrison of Breda at Oosterhout, and also the Dutch troops quartered there. He was accompanied by Marlborough, the gallant de Ginkel, and Overkirk. Riding down the lines, taking note of his veteran soldiers, one can well imagine the regret of the gallant soldier that his weak state of health unfitted him for leading them again against the common enemy of his new kingdom and of Europe.

On his arrival in England he found the temper of Parliament and the people entirely changed. They no longer grudged him the means to prosecute the war. On the last day of the year he delivered his last Parliamentary speech, in which in a masterly manner, after alluding to the loyal addresses he had received, he surveyed the position in which the nation now found itself by the action of the French King. His words acted like the clarion blast of battle upon the assembled houses, and woke up the nation to a just sense of its position. There was no more hesitation. The Commons at once voted a supply of 600,000*l.*, 40,000 men were to be provided for the land forces, and an equal number for the Navy. An address was presented to the King requiring it to be a condition in the treaties of alliance, "That no peace shall be made with France until his Majesty and the nation have reparation for the great indignity offered by the French King in owning and declaring the pretended Prince of Wales King of England, Scotland, and Ireland." The King seemed to recover from his languor and depression by the feeling of satisfaction the altered spirit of the nation gave him, and, though it was evident to the eyes of his court that he was failing, he insisted upon following the hunt at Hampton Court, though he was so weak he had to be lifted on his horse.

The feeble, weak state of the King was no doubt the cause of the accident that ended his eventful life. He fell from his horse

on Saturday the 21st February (o.s.) and fractured his collar-bone. The injury at first, though serious, was not considered dangerous, but coming on an enfeebled and debilitated frame nature could not recuperate. It seemed at first as if there was a chance of his recovering, but the favourable symptoms did not last long. The end was not far off when, on the 7th March, Albemarle arrived with an account of how well everything was proceeding in Holland. When he went in to tell the King, he was too near his end to be excited with news that in health he would have been deeply moved at. He died the next day, leaving an enduring mark upon the history of the nation that he had been called on to rule, and which even now has cause to revere the memory of the King who was not only a great warrior, but who had also the far-sighted instincts of a statesman, and whose acts bore great and good results for his adopted nation long after his career was closed.

The successor to the Throne, Queen Anne, went on the 11th March to the House of Lords. In her speech to her Peers she gave full credit to the grand qualities of the late King, and showed she had a determination that the lines of the policy he had laid down should be her guide. Marlborough was appointed Captain-General of the Forces, and before the end of March was sent as an envoy extraordinary to the States General. In a week he had arranged for a joint declaration of war by England, the States, and Austria against France, and on the 4th May (o.s.) the war was proclaimed in London.

The Queen in her speech to the Commons, reviewing the state of affairs, went on to say that the French King, having allowed the two months to expire wherein he was warned to repair the injuries he had made against the allied Powers, and "instead of the Satisfaction that ought justly to be expected, the French King has not only proceeded to further violences, but has added thereunto a great Affront and Indignity to Us and Our Kingdom in taking upon him to declare the Pretender Prince of Wales, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and has also influenced Spain to concur in the same Affront and Indignity, as well as in his other oppressions; We find ourselves obliged, for maintaining the Public Faith for vindicating the Honour of Our Crown, and for preventing the Mischiefs which Europe is threatened with, to Declare; and We do hereby accordingly declare War against France and Spain." The Queen finished up her war blast by a spirited appeal to the people to help her in her just and righteous cause.

Measures were at once taken to increase the forces of the Crown. A warrant was sent, on the 9th February, to Sir Henry Bellasis to increase his regiment from nine to twelve companies, sixty private men in each (servants included), with three sergeants, three corporals, and two drummers. No levies were to be made for the three additional companies until the conditions for the said companies were filled up. The establishment of the regiment before this was nine companies of fifty men in each. The actual strength before the recruiting for the new establishment was commenced was 258 efficient men and fifty-one non-commissioned officers; total 309. Captains Arnott, Bickerstaff, and Edmund Soames were to command the three additional companies. An order was sent to Captain Arnott, on the 25th February, giving him instructions as to where he was to join the regiment. The warrant for the three additional companies is dated 26th February, the colonel and captains undertaking to complete these companies by the 1st May.

On the 22nd May orders were received at the head-quarters at Portsmouth for the regiment to march to the Isle of Wight. They were to wait there for orders to embark with the expedition to Spain. An order was also sent that they were to be employed "on board our Fleet."

The Fleet appointed to convoy the troops was under the command of Sir George Rooke, with Sir Stafford Fairborne as rear-admiral. It consisted of thirty British men-of-war, twenty Dutch ships, and about 110 transport, store, and fire ships. The troops for the expedition amounted to nearly 10,000 men, besides 4,000 Dutch troops. The whole were divided into four divisions, under Major-General Sir Henry Bellasis, Sir Charles O'Hara, Lord Portman, and Baron Sparr in command of the Dutch troops. The Army rendezvoused at St. Helen's, Isle of Wight. On the 2nd of June the troops were reviewed at St. Helen's prior to embarking. On the 5th final instructions were sent to the commissioners of transports, informing them that all things necessary having been provided for them, they were to sail as soon as the wind was fair. None were to be allowed to go on shore again without permission from the Lords of the Council.*

The following is the account of the disposition of the regiment on board the Fleet, taken from the Harleian Manuscripts. Lieutenant-Colonel Billings was in command of the regiment.

* Domestic State Papers, Secretary's Letter Book, 1698-1702.

From "HARLEIAN MANUSCRIPTS."

An Account of the Number of Officers & Soldiers of y^e Honer^{ble} Lieu^t Gen^l Bellassys Reggm^t, and how they are disposed of in y^e Fleet.

Ships Names.	Cap ^t s Names.	Lieut ^s Names.	En ^s Names.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Soldiers.
Chichester	Lieut. Gen ^l -	Cap ^t Lanally -	En ^s Danby -	2	3	2	50
	Cap ^t Latton -	Lieut. Hamilton	Lieut. Giles -	3	3	2	53
Assotiation	Lieut. Collo ^l -	Lieut. Hassebrigg	En ^s May -	2	3	2	54
	Cap ^t Arnott -	Lieut. Sandes -	En ^s Martell -	2	3	2	54
St. George	Maj ^r Duffe -	Lieut. Gostling -	En ^s Dashwood	2	3	2	53
	Cap ^t Phillips -	Lieut. Davies -	En ^s Bellasys -	2	3	5	54
Essex -	Cap ^t Kirke -	Lieut. Bigot -	En ^s Heylett -	2	3	2	52
	Lieut. Coll ^l Solmes	Lieut. Jackson -	En ^s Boydon -	2	3	2	54
Somerset -	Cap ^t Culliford -	Lieut. Downs -	En ^s Phillips -	2	3	2	53
	Cap ^t Gardner -	Lieut. Wansbrough.	En ^s Shuttleworth.	2	3	2	52
Torbay -	Cap ^t Boismorrel	Lieut. Lacost -	En ^s Seares -	2	3	2	52
	Cap ^t Bickerstaffe	Lieut. Collier -	En ^s Hartt -	2	3	2	50
	12	12	12	25	36	24	631

Of the Lieut. Gen^ls Company left sick in Portsmouth ... 3

Of Cap^t Kirkes Company 1

Of Cap^t Boismorrell's Company 2

(Signed) RICH. BILLINGS.

Officers absent of *Lieut. Gen^l Bellasys* Reg^t 15th July 1702, Cap^t Gardner absent with the Duke of Ormonds leave, Cap^t Bickerstaff sick, Ensign Bellasys sick.

In this statement the total number is shown as twenty-five sergeants, thirty-six corporals, twenty-four drummers, and six hundred and thirty-one privates. In the statement at the review on the 2nd June the number returned was five hundred and ninety-three, leaving one hundred and one deficient from the total quoted of six hundred and ninety-four. The total of the embarkation returns was as follows:—Forty-one officers, twenty five sergeants, thirty-six corporals, twenty-four drummers and hautbois, fifty servants, and six hundred and fifty-eight effective men; total, eight hundred and thirty-four.

Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt joined the Fleet after leaving England. He had been actively engaged in pushing the claims of the Austrian Duke, and now came to take his post as a soldier in the first action in the war.

Prince George of Darmstadt was no less famous as a politician than as a successful soldier, and the story of his conduct of the affairs leading to the acknowledgment of the Archduke Charles of Austria as the King of Spain is well told by Colonel Parnell in his excellent work on the War of the Spanish Succession.

Prince George had, by his strong and firm government while Viceroy in Catalonia, greatly endeared himself to the Spaniards; and his gallant defence of Barcelona, which place he might have successfully held had Spain had at the time a ruler as resolute as the young German Prince, gave him enduring fame.

It may be well here to give a short resumé of the position of parties at the commencement of the War of the Spanish Succession, and of the relations of the claimants of the dead King.

Charles II. of Spain was an amiable but weak monarch, and his ill health left him much under the guidance of his confessors. These priests had been won over to advocate the claims of the Bourbons in the person of the Duc D'Anjou, second son of the Dauphin of France, and they induced Charles before his death to sign a will appointing the Bourbon Prince his successor. Of the two other claimants—the Electoral Prince of Bavaria and the Archduke Charles of Austria, second son of the Emperor—the latter was the favourite, and Prince George had been actively intriguing on his account for some years prior to the death of the King. The death, in 1669, of the young Prince of Bavaria made the succession a fight between the Austrian and his allies and the Bourbons of France.

The death of the Spanish King took place on the 31st October 1700, and the French King Louis immediately on receipt of the news, summoned the young Duc D'Anjou, and had him proclaimed "in the midst of his assembled French Court by the title of Philip V. of Spain."

The Dowager Queen of Spain (Queen Maria), who had espoused the cause of her nephew the Archduke, was, by the Spanish Minister, ordered, immediately on the death of the King, to quit the capital. She left in January with most of her Austrian adherents, establishing her court at Toledo. King Philip arrived in Madrid on the 17th February 1701, being received with enthusiasm by the people in the capital.

Prince George, by his knowledge of Spain and his great popularity there, had been able to make such arrangements with his friends that he was kept regularly informed of all that transpired, and was thus able to advise the English, the Emperor, and the Hague Government on the best plan of conducting a campaign against the French King and his grandson in the Peninsula.

It was by his advice that the expedition to Cadiz was resolved upon. He also undertook a journey to Portugal in order to win over the Court there, which he did with much skill. In order to give no grounds for suspicion to the Bourbon envoys as to his real intentions, Don Pedro behaved in public with the most studied coldness to the German Prince.

The original claimants to the Spanish throne were, as already stated—(1), the Dauphin of France; (2), Joseph Ferdinand, the Electoral Prince; and (3), the Emperor Leopold of Austria.

The pretentious Dauphin was of first rank, as he was the son of the eldest daughter of Philip IV.; but his mother had on her marriage with the son of Louis formally renounced the succession, and the renunciation had been confirmed by the will of her father and his Ministers, and ratified in the most solemn manner by Louis himself. The resumed advocacy, therefore, of his grandson was only another instance of the French King's supreme disregard of the most solemn engagements when they interfered with his plans. Joseph Ferdinand, the Electoral Prince, the grandson of the Emperor, was a claimant by right of his mother Margaret Theresa, second daughter of Philip IV. (who the Emperor had induced to renounce her claims on her marriage with Maximilian of Bavaria), while the Emperor's claim was based on two points—first, that as he was in his person the only remaining descendant of the male line from Philip and Joanna; and secondly, in right of his mother Mary Anne, daughter of Philip III., the legitimate heiress, in virtue of the renunciations already stated. Charles had himself acknowledged the justice of the Emperor's claims in the Minutes of Grand Alliance, and had made a will in favour of the Archduke, but the birth of the Bavarian Prince changed his views. The Imperial Archduke had, therefore, very strong claims on the Spanish throne, and the fights we had engaged in from motives of Imperial policy had the advantage of being strongly upheld by the justice of the claim.

The expedition, composed of 160 ships, under the command of Admiral Sir George Rooke, sailed from Spithead on the 12th July 1702, a council of war having been held the day previous to departure, when it was resolved that if, on the arrival off the Spanish coast, the French ships were still at Corunna, "the troops should be landed in the vicinity, and the fortress should be attacked by land and sea."

The chief officers of the Fleet under the Admiral, were Vice-Admiral Thomas Hopson, and Rear-Admirals Stafford Fairborne (the son of Sir Palmes Fairborne), and Graydon. The Dutch Commanders were Lieutenant-Admiral Van Allemond, Vice-

Admirals Callenburg, Vandergoos, and Pietersen, and Rear-Admiral Nassenaer.

The land forces were commanded by the Duke of Ormond, under whom were Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Bellasis, commanding the "Queen's," Major-Generals Sir Charles O'Hara and Lord Portmore (who afterwards succeeded Sir Henry Bellasis in the command of the "Queen's"), as Generals of Division, and Brigadier-Generals Seymour, Matthews, and Gustavus Hamilton. The staff officers were Adjutant-General, Major Joslin, Quartermaster-General Sir Thomas Smith, and Chief Engineer and Commandant of the Train, Colonel Carles.

The Dutch troops were under the command of Major-General Baron Sparr and Brigadier-General Pallant.

The following was the composition of the Forces :—

ENGLISH.			
Dragoons.—Lloyd's (now 3rd Hussars)	...	...	185
Foot.—1st and 2nd Regiments of the Guards	...	...	755
Bellasis' Regiment (Queen's)	...	...	834
Churchill's „ (Buffs)	...	...	834
Columbine's (6th Regiment)	...	...	724
O'Hara's, or Royal Fusiliers, 3 companies (7th Regiment)	...	...	313
Erle's (19th Regiment)	...	...	724
Gustavus Hamilton's (20th Regiment)	...	...	724
Donegal's (35th Regiment)	...	...	724
Charlemont's (36th Regiment)	...	...	724
Marines.—Seymour's (4th Regiment)	...	...	834
Villier's, 5 companies (31st Regiment)	...	...	520
Fox's (32nd Regiment)	...	...	834
And Shannon's (afterwards disbanded)	...	...	834
Engineers and Train	...	...	312
Dutch	...	...	4,000
The Train consisted of ;			
Heavy Guns	...	...	20
Mortars...	...	...	16
Field pieces	...	...	10
besides siege implements.			

Ormond's instructions were "to reduce and take the town and island of Cadiz," and in case of a failure, or it being found impracticable, to attack Vigo, Ponte Vedra, Corunna, or any other place belonging to Spain or France.

On Sunday, 9th of August, the Fleet passed Cape St. Vincent, the next day Prince George of Denmark joined at Lagos, with the English frigates from Lisbon. On Wednesday, the Fleet came to an anchor about two leagues south-west of Cadiz.

It was then decided at a joint council of war to make a descent on the bay of Bulls (just outside the Bay of Cadiz), so often mentioned

in our Tangier History. The commander-in-chief sent the chief engineer officers and Lieutenant Cows, of the Ranelagh, to reconnoitre. These officers reported that there were three bays where a descent might easily be effected, and an attack made under favourable conditions on the fortress. Ormond was in favour of an immediate landing in one of these bays, but the admiral, with his great fault of "not daring responsibility" overruled him. It was therefore decided to anchor the Fleet nearer the shore, and land the troops there, from whence an attack could be made on Port St. Mary and Fort Santa Catalina, and the coast town of Rota. These places on our hands, another council of war was to be held as to the next movement, as it was hoped that intelligence might in the meantime be received as to the state of affairs in the town. Prince George had communicated with his friend, Don Felix de Vallaro, and other of his friends in the city, asking for their assistance, which he trusted would enable the expedition to make favourable plans for attack on the town. On the 15th (o.s.) preparations were made for landing, but the troops did not begin to disembark until daylight on the 16th (o.s.), the first to land being the Grenadiers of the Army, including the Grenadier company of the Queen's. The surf ran so high that several boats were swamped, and many men drowned. The troops had hardly time to form up, before they were charged by a Spanish troop of Horse, led by Vallaro, the officer whom Prince George had hoped to have gained over to the allies. The Spaniards were driven off, and the gallant Vallaro killed. The Foot and Marines now landed with but little loss, the guns of the forts Santa Catalina and another being kept engaged by the frigates, who had stood in, in order to protect the landing. The next morning the town of Rota surrendered, and there being a wharf there, the Dragoons, train, and supplies were more conveniently landed. The three following days were employed in landing the Artillery, ammunition, stores, &c.

By the 21st (o.s.) the whole Army had disembarked, and leaving a garrison of 300 men at Rota, under Colonel Newton, of the Guards, Ormond set out to capture the town of Port St. Mary, which they found deserted by the inhabitants. The Army had only a slight skirmish during the march with a party of Spanish Horse. The commander-in-chief, before he set out, had issued special orders to the soldiers against marauding, but, unfortunately, the citizens had left so much food and wine at hand, that the famished and tired troops were unable to resist helping themselves, and, when excited with the wine they found so plentifully stored in the cellars, they proceeded to plunder and destroy. Unhappily, also, the churches were robbed and despoiled, and thus any hope of

assistance from friends in the Spanish quarters was entirely destroyed, indeed, Prince George, "whose express object it was to conciliate the Andalusians," was so disgusted, that he at once sent a letter complaining of the action of the troops, and reflecting severely on the conduct of General Sir Henry Bellasis. On the 22nd August (o.s.) Santa Catalina surrendered, the bomb vessels contributing much to the success "by throwing, the day before, 120 shells into the place."

On Sunday, the 23rd (o.s.) Sir Stafford Fairborne was sent with ten English and six Dutch ships of sixty and seventy guns into the Bay of Cadiz, to protect the bomb vessels, which had been told off to shell the town.

On the 29th (o.s.) a body of 1,400 men, under the command of the Dutch General Baron Sparr, advanced against the Matagorda Puntal, which, with the Puntal on the opposite shore of the Island of Leon,—on the extreme end of which island is the town and port of Cadiz—completely commanded the narrow entrance to the bay. These two points were strongly guarded, the first having a fort mounted with twelve guns, and the castle on the Leon Island Puntal being armed with twenty-four guns. The enemy, to further protect the entrance to the inner bay, had sunk three merchant ships across the mouth of the harbour, which enabled the French frigates to assist the besieged, while they themselves rested secure from the attack of the combined Fleets outside. Ormond, who had made his head-quarters at Santa Vittoria, had by the 3rd September erected a battery of four guns, and another with the same number of mortars, but the fire from the Spanish forts, assisted by that of the frigates, was so well sustained that they could make no impression, and though the allies had brought their trenches up to within 140 yards of the fortress, after three days' pounding away the commander-in-chief found it useless to continue the attack. The batteries had not been well constructed for work, and, being on marshy ground, began to sink, the trenches also were soon filled with mud. The loss during the seven days' work before the Matagorda was sixty-four men killed and wounded.

Rooke had, strongly against the advice of the Prince of Darmstadt, proposed to bombard Cadiz, giving as a reason for this action the fact that no prominent Spaniards had joined the expedition. The Prince replied that the expedition had not encouraged the Andalusians to join them, but on the contrary had alienated them by the excesses of their troops. In consequence of the Prince's strong remonstrance the bombardment scheme was abandoned. On the 13th September (o.s.) Ormond broke up his camp at Santa

Vittoria and commenced his retreat to Rota. Colonel Fox, of the Marines, commanded the rear guard, and protected the Army from attack by the Spanish Horse under Villadarias. On the 24th Ormond arrived at Rota. The next day the troops commenced to embark. Fort Santa Catalina was blown up before leaving, and the whole of the troops were on board the ships by the 28th, with the exception of the rear guard under Fox. The Duke of Ormond, "as he was the first to land, was one of the last to retreat."*

The Prince of Darmstadt was most unwilling that the expedition should leave Spain, and strongly urged wintering in some Spanish port, from whence a blow could be struck early in the spring. He was supported in his views by some Spanish adherents of the Archduke, who had arrived in a frigate to confer with Darmstadt.

Ormond, who was in complete accord with the Prince, supported him, but the admiral, who throughout the whole of the expedition had been strangely wanting in enterprise, decided against it. On the 19th (o.s.) the Fleet prepared to sail homewards. Prince George, disgusted with the abortive nature of the expedition, which might have had a much better result had it been confided to his hands, sailed for Lisbon.

The Fleet had not been long at sea before they received two pieces of news, first, that the King of Portugal had thrown in his lot with the allies, and secondly, that the French Admiral, Chateau Renaud, with a squadron convoying treasure galleons was on his way home, and was expected to make for one of the Atlantic seaports of Spain or France. A Fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel was sent out from England to intercept and, if possible, capture this Fleet and convoy, the admiral sailing from England on the 4th October. The allied English Fleet had been reduced by a squadron, detached on the 5th October, to reinforce the Fleet commanded in the West Indies by Admiral Benbow. The regiments of Erle, Gustavus Hamilton, Donegal, and Charlemont, was sent with this detached squadron, which was under the command of Commodore Walker.

The French under Chateau Renaud escaped the English and Dutch Fleets, and got safely into Vigo without interference from either Fleet.

It is very probable the attack on Vigo and the destruction of the galleons would never have been made, but for their presence there

* London Gazette, 3rd October 1702.

having been accidentally discovered by the Fleet. Sir Geo. Rooke was, on the 22nd September (o.s.), in the neighbourhood of Lagos Bay, when he sent the *Eagle*, *Stirling Castle*, *Penelope*, and some transports into the bay to take in water. The ships arrived in the bay about 5 p.m. Some military officers from the *Penelope* were then landed, with Mr. Beauvoir, the chaplain of the *Penelope*. After a considerable quest they encountered one who could speak to them in French, who proved to be the French Consul. With great imprudence the garrulous Consul took the strangers to his home and made them stay with him two nights, during which, over his cups, he boasted that very soon the French Fleet would be so powerful that neither the English nor Dutch would dare to venture out of their ports, and threw out broad hints that the French Admiral Chateau Renaud and the rich galleons were safe in Vigo Bay. This news was—before they returned on board the ship—curiously confirmed by a gentleman they met, and who had letters for the Prince of Hesse and Methuen, the ambassador. He gave them the certain news that Chateau Renaud with thirty men-of-war and twenty-two galleons were actually safe in Vigo Bay. As soon as the party got on board the news was at once communicated to the captain (who was hurried out of his bed to receive it). A conference of captains was immediately held, and it was decided to send Captain Hardy, who was considered the most able seaman, to endeavour to find the Fleet and advise the admiral of the news. After considerable trouble, caused by his ship being unseaworthy and his stores being nearly exhausted, Hardy came upon the Fleets on the 5th October (o.s.), and upon Sir George and the Dutch Admiral being informed of the stirring news, they at once decided to land at Vigo and endeavour to destroy the Fleet and the galleons. At a council of war held the next day the admiral's resolution was put before the council, and it was decided "that in regard the attempting and destroying the French and Spanish ships at Vigo would be of great advantage to Her Majesty and no less honourable to Her and Her allies, and tend in a great measure to reduce the exorbitant power of France, the Fleet should make the best of their way to that port, and put in immediately with their whole line, if there were room sufficient for it, otherwise to attack the enemy with such detachments as might render the enterprise most effectual and successful." A frigate was at once detached to reconnoitre, and soon returned with full confirmation of the news, and that the enemy's ships lay up the river in Rodondilla Harbour. The Fleet arrived at Vigo and came to an anchor on the 11th October at 11 p.m.

Fortunately the weather was hazy, so they had not been perceived by the enemy.

Vigo is an important town in the Spanish province of Galicia, seated on an arm of the sea at the entrance to a secure harbour, which Drake visited in 1589, and which is reported to have been one of the rendezvous of the famous Spanish Armada.*

They found that the French Admiral had taken up a very safe position behind a narrow strait. On one side was a castle, and he had erected a battery on the other. In addition to this he had placed a boom between the two points of the land made up of yards, cables, top chains, and casks, which he had securely anchored, behind this was the French Fleet of sixteen ships, and the Spanish Fleet of three ships, besides the galleons.

A council of war was now held, when it was decided that as it would be impossible for the whole Fleet to enter and fight, a detachment of fifteen English and Dutch men-of-war with fire ships were to force the passage, the frigates and bomb ships following in the rear. The great ships were to be close by in reserve in case they were required. At the same time the Army was to land and attack the port on the south side of Rodondilla, and after capturing it to go on "where they might most effectually annoy the enemy."

Sir Geo. Rooke spent the whole night going on board ship after ship, giving the most precise orders. The Duke of Ormond landed early in the morning in a sandy bay on the south side of the river, about two leagues from the town of Vigo, with 2,550 men, without any opposition, and sent on Lord Shannon and Colonel Pierce with the Grenadiers to attack the fort, the Duke with the rest of the forces following. The force was divided into three brigades as follows :—

First Brigade.

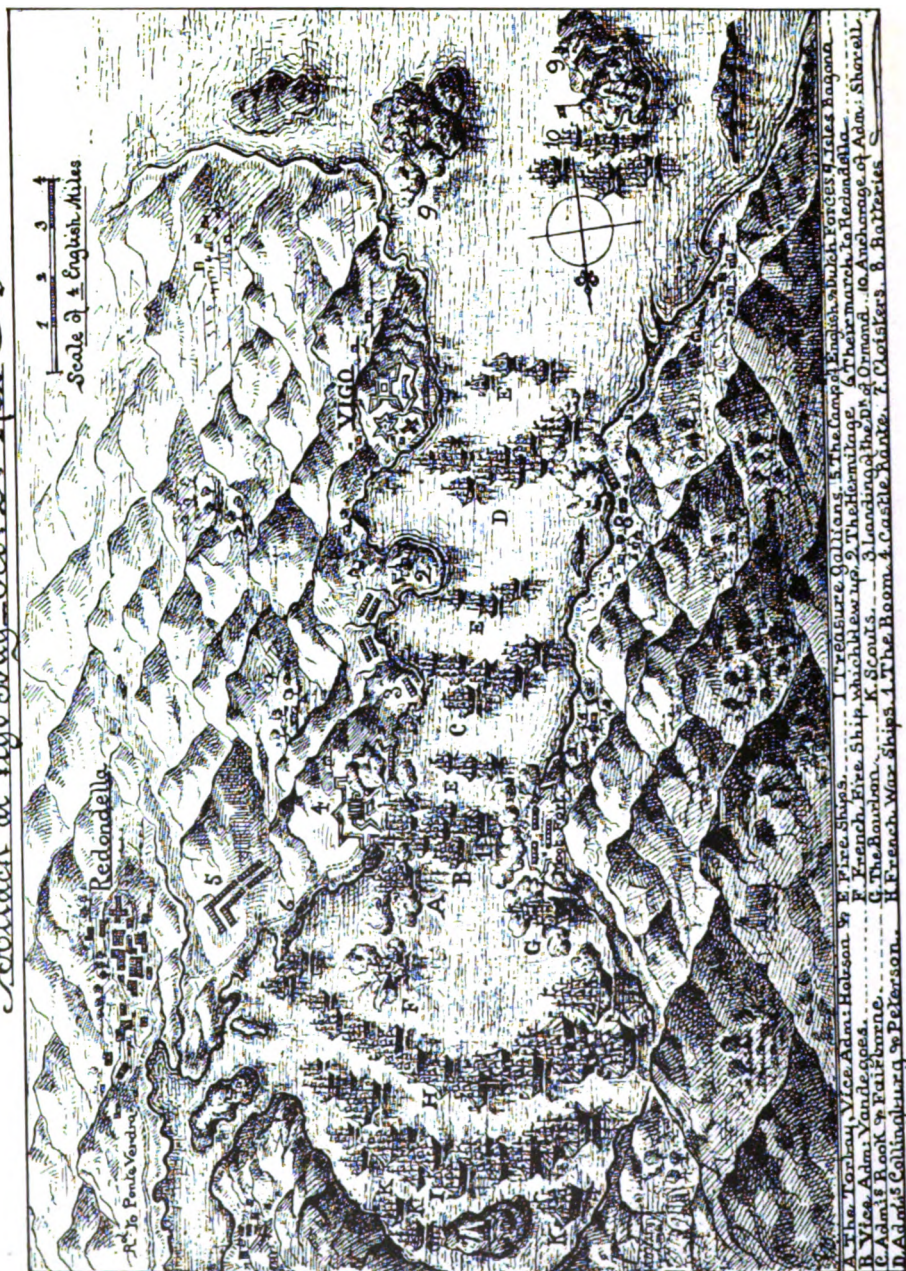
Guards	} Duke of Ormond and Brigadier Hamilton.
Churchill's Regiment, Buffe	
Columbine's ,, 6th Regiment	
Fox Regiment, Marines	

Second Brigade.

Sir Henry Bellasis' Regiment, Queen's	} Lord Portmore, Brigadier Lloyd.
Seymour's Regiment, 4th	
O'Hara's Fusiliers, 7th Regiment	
Shannon's Regiment	

* Harris's Collections of Voyages and Travels, Vol. 2, p. 765.

Attack at Vigo Bay—Oct. 2nd 1702



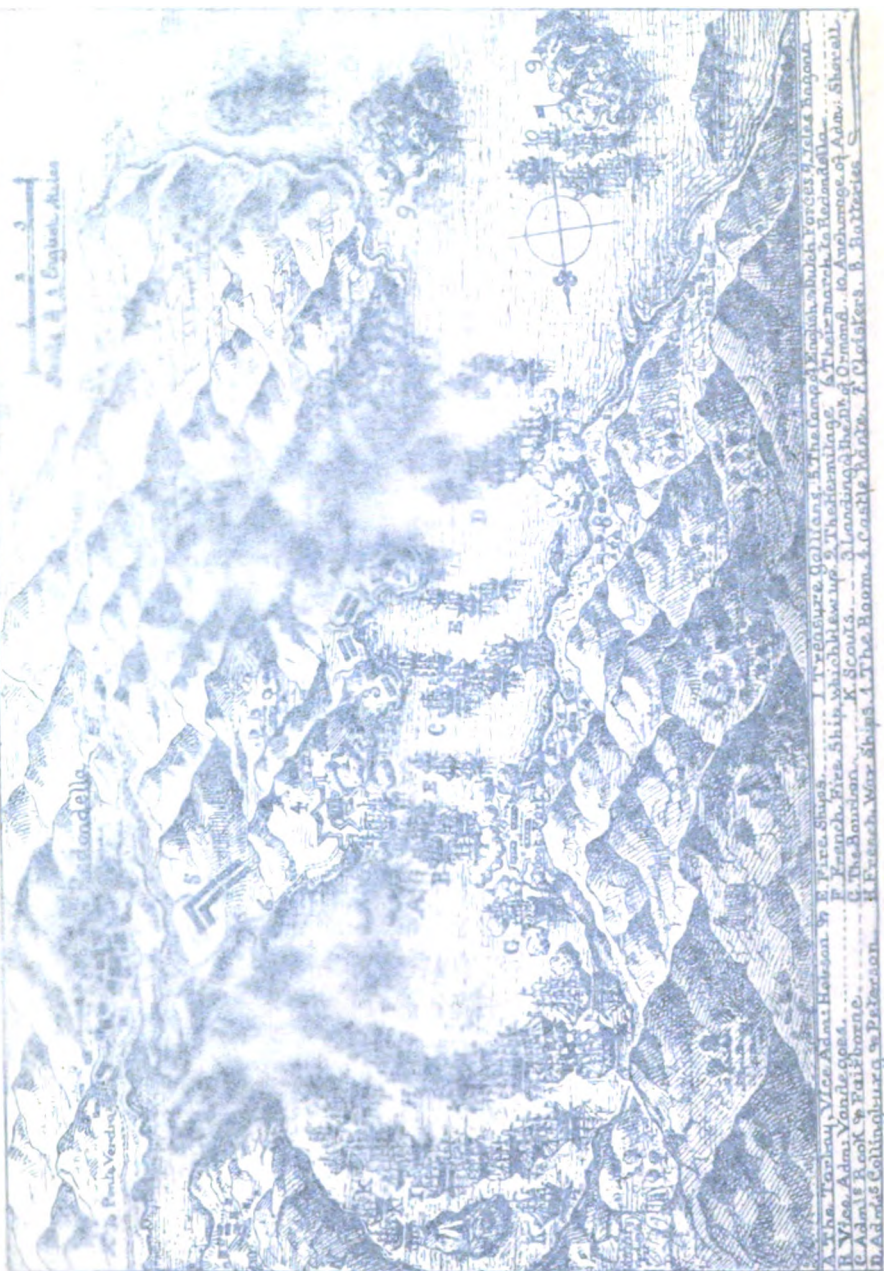
Compiled from Vigo Bay (Military History of Eugene and Marlborough), Vol. 1, p. 294, Print Room, B.M.
 English Historical Prints, 1702. Print Room (1882—8—12), B.M.
 Harris's Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. 2, p. 768.
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Attack at Vigo Bay Oct 22^d 1702



Third Brigade.

Dutch Forces

{ Baron Sparr,
 Brigadier Palandt.

The enemy, to the estimated number of 8,000 men, appeared on the hills, but never really waited for our men, making only a feint of skirmishing at a distance. The Grenadiers on arriving soon made themselves masters of the lower platform of the fort, capturing thirty-eight pieces of cannon. The Frenchman in command of the battery, a naval captain named Sorel, was driven into the keep, from whence he kept up a good resistance. Finding himself over-weighted he attempted to cut his way to the boats, but the English Grenadiers were too quick for him, and rushing into the gates before the Frenchmen could issue out, captured the whole of the garrison, consisting of 300 French and 50 Spaniards, and with a loss of only six officers and eighty men on the side of the allies.

While these operations on land had been going on, Rooke had been preparing to advance, and as soon as Ormond made the agreed on signal, an ensign hoisted on the fort, signifying that the south battery was in his possession, he sailed up to the boom. He formed his Fleet in three lines, the first or van, which he placed under the command of the Dutch Admirals Hopson and Vandergoes, consisted of four English and three Dutch ships and three fire ships. The second line, under the command of Rooke and Fairborne, consisted of six two-deckers and four fire ships, and the third line, under the command of Callenburg and Pietersen, was composed of eleven two-deckers and three fire ships. Captain Andrew Leake, in command of the Torbay, was the first to reach the boom, which he successfully passed through. Being immediately grappled by a French fire ship, his own ship was soon in flames at the bows, and though, by the exertions of Leake, the flames were extinguished, he lost heavily, sixty of his crew being drowned by jumping overboard to escape the fire. In the meantime, the other ships had passed through the boom and engaged the French Fleet. The fight, though hot, was of short duration. In a little time most of the French ships were either captured, burnt, or sunk. The French Admiral, seeing all was lost, set fire to his flag ship and signalled to his captain to do likewise. Over four hundred of the French and Spaniards were taken prisoners, amongst them a Spanish Admiral and two French Commodores, Admiral Chateau Renaud escaping. The allies' loss was small, the principal loss being on board the Torbay, 115 men being drowned and killed.

An account of the fight relates that the resistance was desperate. An eye witness of it described the discharge of artillery as "the



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most dreadfull ever beheld, neither sky nor earth was to be seen, all was flame and smoke, and in less than a quarter of an hour all the French ships were in flames."* Ormond the same evening occupied Rodondilla, and proposed, if Rooke would leave them sufficient ships and provisions, to take Vigo and winter there; but again the British Admiral refused, alleging an insufficient reason, and the troops re-embarked. Sir Cloudesley Shovel arrived at Vigo on the 27th October, and Rooke, leaving to him the task of completing the destruction of the French ships that had been run on shore and demolishing the batteries, sailed home, and arrived in the Downs on the 7th November. The London Gazette of 7th November announces to its readers that "Sir George Rooke is just now coming into the Downs with the great ships that were at Vigo and one Galleon with some of the small vessels and Sir Cloudsley Shovel is shortly expected with the rest of Her Majesty's Fleet together with the French Men-of-war and the other galleons that were taken at Vigo." The Duke of Ormond landed the same day at Deal, resting the night at Canterbury, and came on the next day to London.

A marching order, dated 24th October, had been sent on the 24th October ordering the regiment to disembark at Portsmouth and march at once to Winchester, but four companies with Colonel Billing having arrived at Deal, received orders from Blathwayte† to land there and march at once to Canterbury, leaving those of his men who were sick in charge of the commissioners of sick and wounded seamen.‡ Another four companies landed at Chatham and were ordered to march and be quartered at Dartford, St. Mary's Cray, and vicinity.

The disposition of the regiment on board the Fleet returning home had been as follows :—

2	companies	on board the	" Bedford "
2	"	"	" Association "
2	"	"	" St. George "
2	"	"	" Essex "
2	"	"	" Somerset "
2	"	"	" Torbay "

Four companies were apparently landed at Portsmouth and quartered there.

* MSS. British Army, Royal United Service Institution.

† War Office, Marching Book, 1702, pp. 43, 44.

‡ Ibid, pp. 81, 82.

The news of the Vigo operations had been already sent home by an express with Lord Shannon and Captain Thomas Hardy. It was received with great rejoicing. Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Bellasis and Major-General Sir Charles O'Hara were under arrest during the action in consequence of the excesses and plunder made during the attack on Cadiz.

The men-of-war captured in the Vigo action were the Bourbon, sixty-eight guns; Prompte, seventy-six guns; Ferme, seventy-four guns; Modère, fifty-four guns; Assuré, sixty-six guns, and Triton, forty-two guns; and the ships destroyed by being sunk or run ashore were the Esperance, seventy guns; Sirene, sixty-two guns; Superbe, seventy guns; Volontaire, forty-six guns; Jesus Maria Joseph, seventy guns; Buffoona, fifty-four guns, and la Capitana de Assogos, fifty-four guns. The ships that were fired were the Forte, seventy-six guns; Oriflamme, sixty-four guns; Solide, fifty-six guns; Prudent, sixty-four guns; Dauphine, forty-four guns; Entreprenant, twenty four guns; Choquante, eight guns, and Tavori, in all twenty-one war ships (eighteen of which were French) besides the galleons. Colonels Peirce, Seymour, and Newton were wounded. A large number of naval officers, some of high rank, were taken prisoners, and between 400 and 500 soldiers.

The names of the thirteen Spanish galleons captured and destroyed were Santo Christo de Mariacara, Santo Christo de buen Viaja, Santa Cruz, Nostre dame de Mercy, Santa Domingo, Le Trinidad, Muestra Senora de Mercedes, St. Jean de Baptista, Phillipo Quinto, Jalaste del General, La Sacra Familia, Santa Cruz, and Santa Susanna. Of these thirteen galleons, armed with from twenty to upwards of fifty guns each, four were taken by the English, four by the Dutch, and four were burnt and destroyed.

The value of the booty captured in them was estimated at about 1,000,000*l.*, but it was chiefly merchandise, as the bulk of the treasure had been landed and sent inland before the commencement of the action. The troops embarked for home on the 17th October. On the arrival of the Fleet in England, a court-martial was held upon Sir Henry Bellasis and Sir Charles O'Hara for their conduct before Cadiz, the former officer was dismissed the service and the latter escaped with a censure.

The nation had been much disappointed with the abortive nature of the expedition to Cadiz, but the success at Vigo was thought to, in a measure, redeem the disgrace of the defeat at Cadiz. Bishop Burnet gives it as a rumour of the time that the expedition found the garrison much stronger and the fortifications in a better state than had been represented, but it cannot be

doubted that the divided councils and the too cautious action of the admiral, Rooke, was the main cause of the defeat. Rooke and Ormond on their arrival at Portsmouth were received with every mark of popular favour, the former being made a privy councillor. Admirals Hopson and Leake were knighted. Ormond was, later on, in reward for his services, made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

The following papers giving an account of the booty captured by the troops and of its distribution is interesting, but it falls short of the value of the booty captured.

An Inventory of what Plate, Money, Catchinool &c. was taken at Rondilla for the use of the English Forces.

Of Coynd Silver—Two hund ^d forty six pd ^a	} Avoirdupois weight 709 lbs.
Wrought plate—One hundred eighty pd ^a	
Bullion—2 hundred & sixty six pd ^a	
Balsam of Peru—Three Jarrs.	
Grana Silvestri—Two Cases.	
Indicos—One Firkin.	
Dry Cochinooll {	Four large Matted Bales.
	Nine small Matted Bales.
	One loose Bale.
	Four Baggs.
Cochinooll supposed to be damaged {	One small Chest.
	Thirteen Bales in Skinns.
	Three Matted Chests.
	Three large Cedar Chests.
Vinnelo—One large Cedar Chest.	

Oct^r 18th 1702.

Rec^d for y^e use of Sir Henry Bellassys Regim^t one ninth part of all the silver and vinnelloos wthin mention'd per me.

(Signed) KIRKE.

Received of Captain Kirke of Sir H. Bellassys Regt. one hundred and thirty dollars whereof given to the soldier who brought them thirty dollars.

The amount realised by the Sale of goods taken at Ronalla was after all deductions £5,270 0 0 for officers and men of the Forces engaged at Vigo and the share of the Regiment of Sir Henry Bellassys was £561 10 0.

J. B.

Extract from Duke of Ormonde's orders.

"And commanding officers of the said Regiments are to take care that the money be equally divided amongst the officers and soldiers in proportion according to their pay (viz.) for every sixpence in their several pays to be allowed one share."

The London Gazette gives the following list of the French and Spanish ships and their fate:—

FRENCH SHIPS IN THE HARBOUR OF RODONDILLA.

Ships' Names.	Captains' Names.	No. of Guns.	—
Le Fort - -	Chateau Renault - -	76	Burnt.
Le Prompte - -	Beaugen - -	76	Taken, and will be carried home.
L'Assuré - -	D'Aligre - -	66	Taken, and will be carried home.
L'Esperance - -	Marquis Gallisoniere	70	Taken, but run ashore and bilged and sunk.
Le Bourbon - -	Mons. Bolt - -	68	Taken by the Dutch.
La Sirene - -	Mons. Gou - -	60	Taken, but run ashore and bilged.
Le Solide - -	Chæmelin - -	56	Burnt.
Le Firme - -	Boissier - -	72	Taken, and will be carried home.
Le Prudent - -	Grand Pré - -	62	Burnt.
Le Modere - -	L'Autier - -	56	Taken, and will be carried home.
Le Superbe - -	Botteville - -	70	Taken, but run ashore and bilged.
La Dauphine - -	Duplesis - -	46	Burnt.
Le Volontaire - -	Soree - -	46	Taken, but run ashore and bilged.
Le Triton - -	Du Counte - -	42	Taken, and will be carried home.
L'Enflame - -	Fricombalt - -	64	Burnt.
Frigats.			
L'Entreprennant - -	Polignac - -	22	} Burnt.
Choquant - -	St. Osman - -	8	
La Farios, Fire-ship - -	Delafiallet - -	—	
3 scouts - -	—	—	Burnt.
17 galleons—4 afloat, 2 ashore, and 5 taken by the Dutch, the rest burnt.			Burnt.

On the 13th December the Queen issued a proclamation requiring all who had any of the plunder taken at Vigo to deliver it up to the authorities within twenty days from the date of the proclamation, or they would be prosecuted.

About the date the Spanish expedition arrived at home, the Duke of Marlborough had a narrow escape from capture. The Duke, after the Army had separated at Liège for their winter quarters, came on a Saturday to Maestricht, and embarked on the *Maes* for Holland, taking on board twenty-five soldiers as escort. On Sunday he arrived at Auremond (? Roermond), where he dined with the Prince of Holstein Beck, commanding the garrison there. On resuming his journey, he ordered a party of fifty horse to attend them along the shore for greater security. The boats became separated in the night, and the horsemen lost their way. About eleven or twelve a party of thirty-five men from the garrison of Gelder (Geldern), who were patrolling the shore about three leagues from

Venlo, saw the boat containing the Duke and his escort being drawn along by ropes, they at once seized the rope, and pulling the boat on shore, fired upon the party, and threw grenades into the boat, wounding several. Ultimately the whole party, including the Duke, were made prisoners. Fortunately, he was not recognised, and after having examined the passports and taken what valuables they could find, they left them about five a.m., upon which the Duke and his party—minus their valuables—continued their journey to the Hague. The Governor of Venlo hearing of the capture, made instant preparations to endeavour to save the Duke and to invest Gelder. Great joy was manifested when it was found that the Duke had escaped.*

While the operations were going on in Spain, the Duke of Marlborough, who had been appointed commander-in-chief in Holland, much to the disappointment of the Prince of Saarbruck and Earl of Athlone, had not been idle. After visiting the Hague and cementing the alliance with the Confederates, he joined the Army. He at once ordered in all detachments, and concentrated his forces at Duckenbourg. A few days later, having been joined by the Guards and the Nimeguen garrison, he reviewed all his troops, which now consisted of seventy-six battalions, 120 squadrons, and sixty-two guns.† After manœuvring to cut the French line of communications, which he would have accomplished but for the opposition of the Dutch deputies who were with him, and who did not wish to risk a general action, he resolved to besiege Venlo. On the 10th September he wrote to the Minister Nottingham that the castle of Venlo, commanding the place, was carried by assault “and that they hoped to be masters of the town by Sunday or Monday.”‡

While the siege of Venlo was proceeding, Marlborough was also making preparations to attack Roermond and Stevenswerth, and he wrote confidentially that he thinks “no other enemy but ill weather can hinder us from taking them”; which boast he fully justified. On the 14th Venlo had capitulated, and he marched towards Roermond and Stevenswerth, which places also soon fell into his hands. Boufflers, the French General, was strongly encamped at Tongres, but Marlborough wrote to the Minister, Nottingham, that before he went into winter quarters he hoped to oblige the French to quit and to “content themselves with winter quarters in their own country.” As soon as he had possession of Roermonde and

* State Papers, Holland, 1702–1706, No. 333.

† Hamilton's Guards, Vol. I., p. 431.

‡ Military Expeditions, 1702–1707, P.R.O.

Stevenswerth, he turned his attention to Liège, arriving in front of the town early in October. By the 12th of the month, great progress had been made in the siege. In the afternoon of that day eight battalions and 1,000 Grenadiers advanced to attack the counterscarp, which had been wrecked by four days' pounding by cannon. In a postscript in a letter to Nottingham of the 12th, which is dated seven p.m., he writes "by the extraordinary bravery of the officers and soldiers, the citadel has been carried by storm, and for the honour of her Majesty's subjects, the English were the first that got upon the breach."* As soon as Boufflers heard of the fall of the citadel of Liège he decamped from Tongres, Marlborough soon after sending his Army into their winter quarters. Tongres was next year to become famous to the regiment, in consequence of the gallant and intrepid defence of the place by the "Queen's" and the regiment of Van Elst. Eight regiments, numbering 1,733 men, were captured in the citadel of Liège, 166 officers were sent prisoners to Holland.

The strength of the regiment at this time is given in the MSS. Papers, Royal United, Service Institution, as 582 men, and the annual cost 10,518*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.*†

The Treasury Papers, under date 24th December, contain particulars of pay to Guards and garrisons up to that date. The amount paid to Sir H. Bellasis' regiment for sixty-two days, from 25th December 1701 to 24th February 1702 is 1,618*l.* 4*s.*. An item is given of the pay for three additional companies and additional men from 1st March to 24th June, amounting to 1,510*l.* 18*s.*

The quota of pay of the regiment is given on 25th December as follows:—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
1 colonel and captain	10	0	per day.
1 lieutenant-colonel and captain ...	7	6	"
1 major and captain	6	6	"
9 captains, each	4	0	"
13 lieutenants, each	2	0	"
11 ensigns, each	1	6	"
1 chaplain	3	4	"
1 adjutant	2	0	"
1 quartermaster	2	0	"
1 surgeon	2	0	"
1 " mate	1	3	"
25 sergeants, each	6	0	per week.
36 corporals, "	4	6	"
24 drummers, "	4	6	"
708 private men	3	6	"

* Military Expeditions, 1702-1707, P.R.O.

† MSS. British Army, Royal United Service Institution, Vol. III.

The total cost of the regiment per week according to these figures was 184*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.*

In an account dated 8th March 1701/2, showing at what times the several officers of the Army were disbanded "after the late war," appears the following relating to the "Queen's" regiment:—

Due to captain John Arnot, at 4*s.* 8*d.* per diem, to 24th December 1701, £17 5*s.* 4*d.*

Due to Captain John Bickerstaff, at 4*s.* 8*d.* per diem, to 18th August 1701, £47 7*s.* 8*d.*

Due to Lieutenant Hugh Phillips, at 2*s.* 4*d.* per diem, to 24th December 1701, £8 12*s.* 8*d.*

Due to Lieutenant Henry Godfrey, at 2*s.* 4*d.* per diem, to 24th December 1701, £8 12*s.* 8*d.*

Due to Lieutenant Henry Sands, at 2*s.* 4*d.* per diem, to 24th December 1701, £8 12*s.* 8*d.*

Due to Ensign William Danby, at 1*s.* 10*d.* per diem, to 1st September 1701, £17 4*s.* 8*d.*

Due to Ensign Francis Bickerstaff, at 1*s.* 10*d.* per diem, to 24th December 1701, £6 15*s.* 8*d.*

Due to Chaplain Josiah Alsop, at 3*s.* 4*d.* per diem, to 24th December 1701, £12 6*s.* 8*d.**.

An account of the forces of the "present establishment" of the forces in England compared with the numbers during the late war, Sir Henry Bellasis' regiment is given as 582, and the cost per annum 10,518*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* "During the late war the number of men and officers was 928, and the annual charge 16,145*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Difference in numbers 346, and in charge 5,627*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*†

* Treasury Military Book, 1701/2, March 8, Bundle 1, No. 6.

† Journals of House of Commons, 1699–1702, Vol. 13.

CHAPTER XI.

CONTINUATION OF THE WAR IN THE NETHERLANDS,
AND THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

1703.

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IN the early part of January, according to the marching orders, the regiment was quartered as follows :—Four companies at Reading one at Fordingbridge, and five at Winchester. On the 5th March orders were received that the four companies at Reading were to march and be quartered at Salisbury, Fisherton, and Farnham, two of the five companies at Winchester were to go to Southampton, and were to send a detachment to Hurst Castle. The rest of the companies remaining in Southampton were to “assist in the safe keeping of prisoners.”

It would appear, from a letter dated 2nd February, that orders had been given to send for Sir Henry Bellasis' regiment to march them into garrison at Portsmouth. The two companies who were guarding the prisoners of war at Southampton were not to be removed. It would appear from this that two companies had been sent to Southampton before the order above quoted. In another marching order reference is made to a company at Ringwood, one at Abbots Worthy, one at Waltham, and one at Wrecksham (?). In a marching order dated 4th February a company is said to be quartered at Ramsey.

Sir Henry Bellasis had been dismissed the service for his conduct in the matter of the Vigo Bay booty. He was accused of sending a transport to England with plunder valued at 4,000*l*. On the 27th February this year David Colyear, Earl of Portmore, was commissioned to command the regiment.

On the 5th March Lords Portmore and Churchill received summonses to attend a Cabinet Council, to give account as to when their regiments would be ready to embark, it having been decided to send them to Holland. Various letters appear to have been sent in the month of March with reference to the embarkation of the regiments, and giving instructions as to the supplies required. On the 17th an order was sent directing the “Queen's” to march to Deptford, Greenwich, and Woolwich; five companies were to be quartered at Woolwich, and five at Greenwich. The two companies marching from Southampton were to pass through Guildford. A later order, dated 23rd March, gave more definite instructions as to the disposal of the regiment. They were to march to Greenwich and Deptford, at which places they were to arrive on the 31st March, and, as soon as the convoy was ready for them, they were to embark and proceed to Harwich, there to take up Lieutenant-General

Churchill's regiment.* The Commissioners of Transport, to whom these instructions were sent were directed to take on board the clothing belonging to the regiments in Holland. The numbers specified for the two regiments were in each case the same, viz., 600 officers and soldiers, thirty horses, and thirty servants. A letter was received on the 31st March ordering the regiment to embark on the 2nd April, but by a subsequent one, dated the 5th, it would seem that there had been some little confusion, as the Secretary for War, Blathwayte, wrote on that day to Captain Atkinson, in charge of the transports, "that the regiment of Lord Portmore, having had several orders relating to their embarkation, he could not think they stood in need of one at this time, which they might have had sooner on their application, but one of the officers of the regiment received from him that morning at six o'clock an order for embarking as was desired, with which he hopes he is arrived before this time."* Colonel Stanhope's and Colonel Meredith's regiments were ordered to embark with the Queen's. Colonel Roger Elliot's regiment was to do duty for them in England.

A warrant, dated 20th January, gives particulars of the forces which were detailed to act in conjunction with the allies in the Netherlands, and a later warrant, dated 5th April (o.s.), gives the establishment of the four English regiments, Lord Portmore's, Lieutenant-General Churchill's, and Colonels Meredith's and Stanhope's. The "Queen's" is given there as thirteen companies, with the requisite number of officers, non-commissioned officers, and staff as shown before.†

1703, Aug. 1.—Establishment for Four English Regiments of Foot :—

One Regiment of Foot commanded by the Lord Portmore to commence from the 5th day of April 1703, o.s., inclusive :—	Per Diem.			Per Annum.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>Field and Staff Officers.</i>						
Colonel, as Colonel - - -	0	12	0	219	0	0
Lieutenant-Colonel, as Lieutenant-Colonel - - -	0	7	0	127	15	0
Major, as Major - - -	0	5	0	91	5	0
Chaplain - - -	0	6	8	121	13	4
Adjutant - - -	0	4	0	73	0	0
Quarter-Master - - -	0	4	0	73	0	0
Chirurgion, 4s., and Mate, 2s. 6d. -	0	6	6	118	12	6
	2	5	2	824	5	10

* War Office, Common Letter Book, No. 132, pp. 28-37.

† War Office, Common Letter Book, No. 132, pp. 37-40.

‡ Audit Office, Military Establishment Book, 1703, Nos. 15 and 17.

		Per Diem.	Per Annum.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
A Reg ^t of Foot consisting of 13 Companies of 56 private men in each. In all with the officers making 876 men.	<i>One Company.</i>		
	Captain - - - - -	0 8 0	146 0 0
	Lieutenant - - - - -	0 4 0	73 0 0
	Ensign - - - - -	0 3 0	54 15 0
	Three Serjeants, each 1s. 6d. -	0 4 6	82 2 6
	Three Corporals, each 1s. -	0 3 0	54 15 0
	Two Drummers, each, 1s. -	0 2 0	36 10 0
	Fifty-six private men, each 8d. -	1 17 4	681 6 8
		3 1 10	1,128 9 2
	The pay of eleven Companies more of the like numbers and at the same Rates as the Company above-mentioned - - -	34 0 2	12,413 0 10
	<i>One Company of Grenadiers.</i>		
	Captain - - - - -	0 8 0	146 0 0
	Two Lieutenants, each 4s. -	0 8 0	146 0 0
	Three Serjeants, each 1s. 6d. -	0 4 6	82 2 6
	Three Corporals, each 1s. -	0 3 0	54 15 0
	Two Drummers, each 1s. -	0 2 0	36 10 0
	Fifty-six private men, each 8d. -	1 17 4	681 6 8
		3 2 10	1,146 15 2
	Total for this Regiment -	42 10 0	15,512 10 0
Three Reg ^{ts} were of the like number, making in all 2,628 men.	The pay of Three Regiments more, to consist of the like numbers and at the same Rates, to commence, viz.:—Lt. Gen. Churchill's like- wise from the 5th April 1703, o.s., inclusive, and Colonel Stanhope's and Colonel Meredyth's from the 24 April 1703, o.s., inclusive -	127 10 0	46,587 10 0
	Total for the 4 English Reg ^{ts} -	170 0 0	62,050 0 0

Marlborough, who had been given the highest title of nobility by his Queen after the last campaign, arrived in Holland on the 13th March. The capture of Bonn had become of the first consequence to the allies. The Elector of Bavaria, who had now joined his interests with that of France, had taken the strong fortress of Ulm, and, by effecting a communication with the French, had opened a way for the enemy into Germany, while Marshal Boufflers threatened the Netherlands. The Rhine was open to the allies as far as Bonn, this place being the only town on the Rhine still in the possession of the French.

On the 26th Marlborough wrote to the Minister Nottingham from the Hague. After referring to the Portuguese treaty, he goes on to say, "I am going to the Meuse, to give such orders as are

necessary for the drawing the Army into the field, and when all things are ready for the siege I shall go to Bonn, the States having left it in my power to be with either of the Armies as I shall best think for the service." He further goes on to say, "we flatter ourselves that we shall have finished the siege of Bonn before they (the French) will be able to bring their troops into Flanders."* Not a very safe prophecy as events turned out.

On the 17th April (N.S.) a letter was received by Secretary Hedges, informing him that it was believed that Bonn would be invested by the 20th or 21st, and that Mr. Cohorn promises, "provided he wants nothing, to deliver the town to us in twelve days after the opening of the trenches."† It was not, however, till the 24th that the siege actually began. On that same day Stanhope advised Secretary Hedges that the convoy with the two regiments, Lord Portmore's (Queen's) and Lieutenant-General Churchill's, with the clothing, had arrived in Holland, with Lord Raby, Lord Orkney, and several other officers.‡ In the London Gazette is a notice dated from Hague, 24th April (N.S.), informing its readers that the convoy of about eighty sail of ships from England arrived in the Maes (or Meuse) the 21st instant. "Lieutenant-General Churchill's and the Lord Portmore's regiments of Foot came with the convoy and landed at Williamstadt."

It had been resolved to attack the town of Bonn on three sides. One attack was to be made against the fort near the Rhine, and the other two against the city and the outworks that covered it. On the 3rd May the trenches were opened and the siege pushed forward with such vigour that the governor became alarmed, and endeavoured, by sending a communication to the Duke of Marlborough, to prevent the threatened destruction of the town, urging that an agreement had been made between the Electors that the cities Dusseldorf and Bonn should not be bombarded. The Duke in his reply wrote, that he did not destroy cities by malice, provided the enemies' conduct "did not put upon him such a necessity."§

Lord Cutts, who had been left in the Hague, sent an express on the 4th May to Marlborough, advising him that the French had begun to draw their troops together near Diest, and a few days later, 8th May, Stanhope, the English Minister at the Hague, wrote to Secretary Hedges that de Villars had forced a passage and had joined hands with the Elector of Bavaria. Stanhope

* Military Expeditions, 1702-1707.

† State Papers, Holland, 1701-1703, No. 332.

‡ Ibid.

§ Boyer's Annals of Queen Anne, Vol. II., p. 118.

had before this written to inform Hedges of this movement of Marshal de Villars, who had attacked Prince Lewis in his lines on the 18th and 19th, and had been repulsed with great slaughter, but was still before the place. A few days later he writes giving particulars of further actions, and of what he calls the deliverance of the Prince of Baden, the French being stronger by nearly three to one, and having seventy cannon against the Prince's eight.* The Prince seems to have incurred some censure for not stopping the French from joining the Bavarians. This, however, seems unjust, and Marlborough himself does not seem to have blamed him. Letters from Holland at this time give interesting accounts of the "regularity and artificial contrivance of the siege, which draws many from divers places to see it."†

While the siege of Bonn was going on, the allies under the Dutch Marshal Overkirk (often written Auverquerque) had a narrow escape from a great disaster, by a masterly movement of the French Generals Villeroy and Boufflers. There had evidently been some supineness in watching the movements of the enemy, for it was not till news had been brought that a large force was on the march, with a view of getting between the allied Army before Bonn and the division about Maestricht, under the command of Overkirk and Dopf, that a force of 10,000 men under Generals Lumley and Churchill was put in motion to endeavour to stop them.‡ They were not, unhappily, in time to save the two battalions that had been left in Tongres, the defence of which is one of the deeds of heroism of which the "Queen's" are justly proud. It is said by some authorities that Lumley's force came up with Villeroy before Tongres and were repulsed with loss, but another account§ says that they were only in time to join on to the forces of Overkirk at Maestricht before the French appeared.

The fact appears to be that by the clever manœuvres of the enemy Overkirk was completely surprised. It was said that orders had been given for the garrison of Tongres to be strengthened. Be this as it may, but for the extraordinary gallant defence of Tongres by the battalions of Van Elst and the Queen's, which detained the enemy for a whole day before the town, there is little doubt that the allies would have received a serious check, and the good effects of the capture of Bonn would have been lost.

* State Papers, Holland, 1701-1703, No. 332, P.R.O.

† State Papers, Holland, 1702-1706, No. 332, P.R.O.

‡ Ibid.

§ Milner's *Journal of Marches, Battles, and Sieges*, p. 52.

Marlborough had been informed of the disaster at Tongres by the Earl of Orkney, who sent an express to him on the 10th detailing the circumstances. In his reply to the Earl the next day, the Duke showed how anxious he was to be with the main Army, but could not leave Bonn till the place was captured. On receipt of the news of the disaster at Tongres he at once sent off a detachment of six regiments and twenty squadrons of Horse, to prevent the enemy making any further progress. He was evidently much concerned at the loss of Tongres and of the narrow escape of Overkirk. On the same day that he replied to the Earl of Orkney he wrote instructions to General Lumley, who had been sent in command of the detachment to Tongres, but who unfortunately did not arrive in time.*

The news of the capitulation of Bonn, which arrived at the Hague on the 15th May (N.S.), was some consolation for the narrow escape of the allies before Maestricht. Stanhope wrote on the 15th of May (N.S.) as follows:—"Being abroad yesterday to take the air this evening about seven o'clock, a courier called to me with great joy to tell me that Bonn was surrendered yesterday about four in the afternoon. He said he had letters in his valise and posted away to carry the news to the States. He said it was by capitulation. . . . This makes amends for the loss of our two battalions, being the regiments of Brigadier Van Elst and Colonel Dalrymple, surprised the 9th instant at Tongres by an Army of above 30,000 men, who appeared before the place about five o'clock in the morning, without the least notice of them before, though they had with them a train of Artillery. Marshal de Ville-Roy from Namur and Boufflers from Flanders by long marches joined the night before at St. Tron with such diligence as to bring themselves the first advance of their coming. This is the account sent by Colonel Hepburn of the Scotch regiment, and that after the best defence they could make for about twenty-four hours, there being a large breach in the wall, they were forced to surrender upon discretion, and were all stripped immediately to their very shirts. There were two pieces of cannon in the town and almost all the Duke of Wurtemberg's equipage, which is also lost. We were in great apprehensions at Liège, but this sudden surrender of Bonn secures us against that fear, having by this means at least 30,000 men more at liberty, which will give us a great superiority against all the forces the enemy can draw together, which, I hear, does not reach 40,000 men."†

* Marlborough's Despatches from 1702 to 1712.

† State Papers, Holland, 1701-1703, No. 332, P.R.O.

In the Military History of the Duke of Marlborough the Tongres affair is thus stated:—"In the meantime the enemy fell upon Tongres, where two battalions of Foot, one of Elst and the other of Portmore's, were quartered. These troops defended themselves with extraordinary bravery for twenty-eight hours, but then they were forced to yield at discretion. However, their vigorous resistance gave the Confederates time and opportunity to draw together before Maestricht; so that when the enemy advanced, designing, as was supposed, to have forced the Confederate Cavalry to repass the Maese (Meuse) at Nunegnen, and the Infantry to retire under the outworks of Maestricht, and then to have plied him with their bombs, they found the Confederate Army, to their great surprise and mortification, drawn up in order of battle under the command of M. de Auverquerque (Overkirk), advantageously posted and ready to engage them, though they were greatly inferior in numbers." The account continues:—"Thus the timed heroic conduct of this one British regiment, seconded by a foreign one inspired with equally noble sentiments, frustrated a formidable scheme of two of the greatest commanders the French King had in his service at that time."* Another correspondent, writing from the Hague about these two events, gives an account of a parley by the garrison of Bonn before the capitulation; in which they refused to accept Marlborough's conditions, one of which was that so many of the garrison should remain prisoners of war till the two battalions of Van Elst and Portmore were set at liberty.† A little while after this parley the garrison made a sally out with 2,000 men, who at first were successful in driving our men back, but were quickly repulsed with much loss, our men following them up so quickly that they were able to capture some of their outworks. The attack of the French on the forces of the allies round Maestricht, was no doubt an attempt to raise the siege of Bonn by inflicting a blow there. It was an exceedingly clever and well managed affair, and only failed by the devotion of the two regiments in Tongres.

The London Gazette gives an account of the affair at Tongres similar to the above, but places the number of troops brought up by the French as 40,000, and the length of time the two battalions held the town as twenty-eight hours.

In Boyer's Annals of Queen Anne‡ is an account of the affair. He writes that the two battalions defended themselves with extra-

* MSS. British Army, Royal United Service Institution.

† State Papers, Holland, 1702-1706, No. 333.

‡ Boyer's Annals of Queen Anne, Vol. I., p. 119.

ordinary bravery for twenty-eight hours, but they were forced to yield at discretion.

Milner, in his account of the events at Tongres, makes an error in giving Hepburn's regiment as one of the battalions engaged. He writes that 40,000 men advanced on the 28th upon Tongres "where the battalions lay—Hepburn's and Elst, and to vent their fury fell thereon; and after nearly four hours' brave resistance, they forced them to yield at discretion, it being in a manner open and of little strength."*

As soon as the French got possession of Tongres they made all haste to carry out their main object, and attack Overkirk in order to seize Maestricht and Liège. In the State Papers, Holland, is a most interesting letter in French by a Mr. Croustrom, who was sent with despatches to the States General after the affair. According to this account, the head of the French Army appeared between six and seven a.m. on the morning of the 14th May on the high ground on the road from Tongres. Overkirk having had news of their presence at Tongres, had, on Sunday the 13th, ridden out with the other generals and chosen a position where they might with comparative safety await the attack. The French halted on a hill called Duysberg, and extended their left towards the village of Velthuisen. The position of Overkirk was well chosen. His right flank rested on the village of Loonakin (or Lanakin), and his left was covered by the guns on the works of Maestricht, while a good road led direct to the town by the Brussel's gate, this road being closed to the enemy by earthworks thrown up in front. The French carefully reconnoitred the position, which they found too strong to attempt to make a front attack. They therefore endeavoured to turn the right flank by Loonakin. Perceiving this, Overkirk sent an English brigade and a regiment of Dragoons to Loonakin, the Foot being covered by the hedges and the Cavalry occupying the church. One hundred and fifty Foot were also posted in the churchyard and defended the pass from the heath of Bessmere. About ten a.m. a general attack seemed imminent, the enemy sending down two strong columns from Duysberg hill, and posting them between that place and the village of Velthuisen. Perceiving that their feint made no corresponding movement on the part of the allies by which they might profit, they judged that the position had been too carefully chosen and strengthened to give them much chance of success; they therefore sullenly retired. The writer adds, "*Ils avoient fait courir le bruit le matin qu'ils*

* Milner's Journal of Marches, Battles, and Sieges, p. 53.

pretendoient nous faire rentrer dans les ouvrages de Maestricht et nous y bombarder, mais autant que leur abord parut fier et hardy autant la retraite fut modeste et taciturne.”*

There is no doubt that this very gallant stand of the two regiments, Van Elst and the “Queen’s,” was a splendid feat of arms, and is an admirable example of the devotion of a soldier to his duty. It must have seemed to this little band of devoted men an almost hopeless task to resist the immense body they saw round them, but they fought like heroes, and their devotion saved the Army of the allies, and brought great renown to the regiments engaged. Van Elst’s regiment is wrongly stated to have been disbanded after Tongres. As a matter of fact, it served with distinction in all Marlborough’s wars while we were allied with the Dutch.

A letter from the Hague says, with respect to this affair, “All speak honourably of the two regiments that are taken, saying they have behaved themselves bravely, keeping out twenty-four hours before they would yield, and not till they were played upon by some cannon.”* Further, it is said:—“The two regiments taken at Tongres kept the enemy so long in play, till the alarm was given, and our Army near Maestricht put themselves in a posture of defence, and the garrisons all round had marched out, else they had certainly fallen upon our troops, who were then very much inferior to them. It seems they had better intelligence of our state than we had of their numbers and marches. They thought to have made so great a diversion there as to have forced us to raise the siege of Bonn, but missing of their design they are again retired behind their lines.”

For their gallantry in this affair of Tongres the regiment was made a royal regiment, with the special privilege to carry the proud motto, “*Pristinæ virtutis memor*,” freely translated, “Remembering their valour or gallantry in former days.”

Tongres is a small fortified town situated about nine miles N.N.W. of Liège, on the River Jarr (or Geer), which joins the Meuse at Maestricht. It is a very old place, and was formerly governed by dukes. The French in 1677 committed great devastations in the town, setting fire to the town house, the churches and several convents, and about 600 houses.

As soon as Marlborough had captured Bonn he made haste to march towards Maestricht, and to take command of the Confederates.

* State Papers, Holland, 1703, No. 333.

† State Papers, Holland, 1702–1706, No. 333.

The Dutch appear to have been displeased with Marlborough's action before Bonn, in that he had arranged the capitulation of the town in his own name, "without any regard to the rest."*

On the 25th May Marlborough left Halch, near Maestricht, and crossing the Jecker advanced to Hautin. This advance of Marlborough forced the French back, and when he arrived at Nieudorp they retreated precipitately to Bockworn, abandoning Tongres without striking a blow, but demolishing the walls and tower before leaving. The Duke followed them up till he came to within half a league of their camp, which they had pitched on the other side of the Jecker. After they had secured all the bridges and passes, they retreated to Haunuye. Here, though they drew up in order of battle, on Marlborough's advancing their hearts failed them, and they retired within their lines. Generals Cohorn and Spaar were now ordered to force the enemy's lines at Fort Van Callo, and also at a place near the village of Stocken. A very sanguinary action took place here, but no permanent advantage was gained on either side. Cohorn lost but few men, but Spaar, whose small force of seven battalions was opposed to about 10,000 of the enemy, lost about 1,000 men. The action took place between Huys and Sas-van-Ghent, and lasted three hours. No quarter was given on either side. A spirit of great bitterness seemed to have been aroused in the belligerents at this time. It would seem also as if there was a malign influence in the air, for the generals on the side of the allies were so jealous of each other that they could not agree as to who should have the absolute command.

The affairs in Portugal requiring an augmentation of forces, Stanhope had, early in July, been instructed to obtain the permission of the States to withdraw the four regiments from Holland that had been lately sent, viz., Portmore's, Churchill's, Stanhope's, and Meredith's. The Duke of Marlborough, however, wrote home on the 29th advising that Colonel Meredith's regiment, and his brother Lieutenant-General Churchill's regiment, might be left in Holland, and that the four regiments to be sent should be Portmore's, Stanhope's, Stewart's, and Sir Matthew Bridges', "all four old regiments, and I think very good ones." Lord Raby's Dragoons were to go with them. The Duke advised also that Portmore's and Stanhope's regiments should have a company added to their strength. In accordance with this recommendation, a warrant was issued on the 25th August for a new company, the Officers of Ordnance being ordered to supply fifty-four snap-

* State Papers, Holland, 1702-1706, No. 333.

haunces, musket straps, cartouch boxes, and granado pouches, with three halberds and two drums, for arming the new company.*

The orders for the regiment to return home were issued on the 6th August, when, according to the papers, they were still prisoners in the hands of the French. The strength of the company was to be three serjeants, three corporals, two drummers, and fifty-five private men. The company was to await the arrival of the regiment at Portsmouth, and then join them there.

A remarkable storm broke over England on the 27th November, and caused the loss of a great many ships. This terrible storm was most disastrous in its effects. The shores of the Channel were strewn with wrecks. Fourteen or fifteen men-of-war were cast away, and 1,500 men on them drowned. The only loss sustained by the "Queen's" regiment was twelve halberds, part of the cargo on the William and Mary, which ship was wrecked.

The Duke of Marlborough promised that the regiments wanted for Portugal should be ready to start from Williamstadt by the 20th August.* On the 12th August the Duke wrote to Lord Nottingham with respect to their embarkation. On the 26th August he wrote again he had arranged that Lord Raby's Dragoons were to embark with the four regiments of Foot. The Duke also informed the Minister that he intended to go to Limburg to carry on the siege of that place, and had decided also upon the reduction of Huy before any other operations were undertaken.

On the 16th August (N.S.) Count Noyelles, with a detachment of the "Grand Army," as the Confederates were now called, arrived before Huy. Notwithstanding the fatigues of a most difficult march, the trenches were opened by the 17th (N.S.), and by the 21st the batteries were ready, and began to throw bombs into the enemy's works. Next morning the cannon began to play on the enemy's forts, Picard, St. Joseph, and the castle. In the evening of that day the two forts were carried by assault and destroyed, the French retiring into the castle. The whole force of the besiegers was now turned on to the castle. By the 25th, considerable breaches having been made in the walls, preparations were made for a general assault, but as soon as the enemy saw the scaling-ladders placed against the wall, they asked leave to surrender, with the condition that they were to be allowed to march to Namur. This Marlborough refused to allow, and the orders to recommence the assault were given, upon which the enemy unconditionally surrendered, the terms arranged being that the

* Dom. Mil. Entry Book, 1702-1704, No. 5, p. 215.

† Military Expeditions, 1702-1707.

garrison of Huy were to remain prisoners of war till the two battalions captured at Tongres were released. The troops captured at Huy, and who were kept prisoners till our troops were released were, besides the governor of Huy, two brigadiers-general, and 900 men. During the fourteen days of the siege, the loss of the allies was only sixty killed and wounded. The losses of the besieged being 200 killed and wounded. The officers of the garrison were allowed to keep their swords, and to go to Namur; in fact, the conqueror was pleased to send a convoy of Horse to conduct them to that place in safety.* The regiments were, of course, released, and the Queen's was in time to sail with other regiments for the Portugal detachments.†

The Prince of Hesse was entrusted with all the details of the siege of Limburg, which only lasted a week. The investment began on the 21st September, and on the 28th the garrison capitulated. Marlborough was much hindered in his further designs by the vacillation and irresolution of the States General, who ordered him to hold his hand when ready to strike, and thus gave time for the French to strengthen their lines, when the opportunity was lost. In the next year's campaigns the Duke kept his own counsel as to his designs, and the result was a splendid series of victories, ending with Blenheim, the Waterloo of the eighteenth century.

The Archduke Charles, now called the King of Spain, arrived at Dusseldorf on the 16th October (N.S.), the Duke of Marlborough being there to meet him. The States had thirteen men-of-war to take him to Portugal, with the ships designed for the troops and the generals and officers who were to accompany him. The transports were ordered to "fall down from Amsterdam on the 20th (N.S.), and to anchor off the Texel." Sir George Rooke arrived at the Hague with his Fleet on the 29th October (N.S.). The King of Spain reached the Hague on the evening of the 1st of November. The Duke of Marlborough had an audience with the King on the 6th and took his leave, the King presenting him with his picture set in diamonds, the Duke leaving immediately afterwards for England with the Earl of Portland and several staff officers and arriving there about the 12th November. He left Sir George Rooke and the Dutch Admirals to consult together at Rotterdam for the safety of the King of Spain during his passage to Lisbon.

It was not till the 20th November (N.S.), that the King of Spain embarked at the Hague, but violent winds forced the Fleet back, and

* Milner's *Journal of Marches, Battles, and Sieges*, p. 68.

† Boyer's *Annals of Queen Anne*, Vol. II., p. 132.

he returned, when he learnt the sad news of the defeat of the Prince of Hesse at Landau. The storm that broke over England on the 27th was also very disastrous to the English Fleet on the Dutch coast. The war ship *Vigo* was wrecked with two or three transports near her, and the war ship *Swan* was driven on shore with fifteen or sixteen transports, fifty or sixty men being lost. The greatest losses took place at Helvoet.

The Fleet with the King of Spain did not get away till nearly the end of December. He landed in England on the 26th (o.s.).* and on the 29th went to Windsor, where he was entertained by the Queen for two days.

On the 9th September Lord Nottingham wrote to the Officers of the Ordnance with reference to arms of the "Queen's" regiment, said to be defective, and on the same day he wrote to Lord Portmore, informing him that he had arranged with the Ordnance Officers that they were to receive from his Lordship such arms of his regiment as were unserviceable, and to issue to him others in exchange for them, "but that it would be difficult to furnish them of the new model."† From this it would appear that an improvement had taken place in the arms.

A list was published on the 18th December of the general officers appointed to command in Portugal:—

Name.	Rank.	Pay per Diem.
Meinhardt Duke of Schomberg and Leinster was to command with the title of Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief‡	... ..	£ s. d. 10 0 0
Lord Portmore	Lieutenant-General...	4 0 0
Hugh Wyndham, Esq.	Major-General	2 0 0
William Lloyd, Esq.	Brigadier	1 10 0
Dan. Harvey, Esq.	Brigadier	1 10 0
William Lloyd, Esq.	Quartermaster-General	0 10 0
To the Adjutant-General (Name not given.)	... ..	0 10 0

On 10th December Mr. Secretary Hedges wrote to Sir George Rooke, counselling him to use all possible despatch in landing troops, so as to take fresh advantage of the favour the King of Spain seemed to be in with the Spaniards. The King of Spain,

* In other places the date of the King's arrival in England is given as 7th January 1704.

† Domestic Letter Book (Secretary's), 1702-1704, No. 66.

‡ Second son of the great soldier Duke Schomberg, killed at the Battle of the Boyne.

who, as before stated, had landed in England on Sunday the 26th December (o.s.), the Dukes of Somerset and Marlborough being in attendance on him after his visit to the Queen, left Windsor on the 31st December to join the Fleet. He did not, however, leave England till about the end of January next year, being detained by contrary winds.*

The regulation pay for the forces in the Low Countries is given in the Treasury Papers as follows :—

			<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
1 colonel and captain	...	...	16	6	per day.
1 lieutenant-colonel and captain...	...	...	13	0	„
1 major and captain	...	...	10	0	„
10 captains, each	...	...	6	0	„
14 lieutenants, each	...	...	3	0	„
12 ensigns, each	...	...	2	6	„
1 chaplain	...	...	5	0	„
1 adjutant	...	...	3	6	„
1 quartermaster	...	...	3	6	„
1 chirurgion...	...	...	3	6	„
1 „ mate	...	...	2	0	„
39 serjeants, each	...	...	7	0	per week.
39 corporals, „	...	...	4	8	„
26 drummers, „	...	...	4	9	„
790 private soldiers, each	...	...	3	6	„
Total cost per week	...	£223	4	4	

In the establishment books is an order of Queen Anne relative to the forces to be sent to Portugal. The order is as follows :—†

Anne R.—Our Will and Pleasure is, That This Establishment of our Forces to be Employed in Our Service in Portugal with other Charges. Thereunto belonging do commence and take place from the several terms herein-after expressed. Given at Our Court at St. James this 8th day of November 1703. In the second year of our Reign.

By Her Majesty's comand
GODOLPHIN.
NOTTINGHAM.

A poundage (one shilling in the pound) was, by order dated 8th November, to be deducted from the pay of the troops, the same as “has been usually deducted out of the pay of our forces.” This poundage was to be applied, one-third to Exchequer charges and cost of the deputy in Portugal, and the remaining two-thirds to the cost of the establishment. One day's pay yearly was to be deducted as usual from the pay of the Portugal forces for the expenses of Chelsea Hospital. The three other

* Secretary Hedge's Entry Book, Hoiland, 1703-1704, No. 325, S.R.O.

† Establishment, 1701-1704, No. 844, pp. 72, 76, 77.

regiments in like pay and establishment with the Queen's were Lieutenant-General Churchill's, Colonels Stanhope's and Meredith's. The "Queen's" establishment before the augmentation, as shown in returns on 20th January, was twelve companies of fifty-nine men in each, and the cost per annum 14,520*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* The total charge for these four regiments is given as 667,037 guilders 10 stivers (10 guilders 11 stivers to the pound sterling).

The new establishment of the Queen's was as follows :—

One Regiment of Foot Commanded by the Earle of Portmore to commence from the 26th day of September 1703 Exclusive :—		Per Diem.	Per Annum.
<i>Field and Staff Officers.</i>		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Colonel as Colonel	- -	0 12 0	219 0 0
Lieut.-Colonel as Lieut.-Colonel	- -	0 7 0	127 15 0
Major as Major	- -	0 5 0	91 5 0
Chaplain	- -	0 6 8	121 13 4
Adjutant	- -	0 4 0	73 0 0
Quarter Master	- -	0 4 0	73 0 0
Chirurgion, 4 <i>s.</i> , and one Mate, 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	- -	0 6 6	118 12 6
		2 5 6	824 5 10
<i>One Company.</i>			
One Reg ^t of Foot commanded by the Earle of Portmore consisting of 13 Compy ^s of 56 private men in each. Making in all with the Officers 876 Men.	Captain - - -	0 8 0	146 0 0
	Lieutenant - - -	0 4 0	73 0 0
	Ensign - - -	0 3 0	54 15 0
	Three Serjeants, each 18 <i>d.</i> - -	0 4 6	82 2 6
	Three Corporalls, each 12 <i>d.</i> -	0 3 0	54 15 0
	Two Drummers, each 12 <i>d.</i> -	0 2 0	36 10 0
	Fifty-six private Soldiers each 8 <i>d.</i> -	1 17 4	681 6 8
		3 1 10	1,128 9 2
The pay of Eleven Companys more of the like Numbers and at the same Rates as the Company above-mentioned		34 0 2	12,413 0 10
<i>One Company of Granadiers to Compleat this Reg^t.</i>			
	Captain - - -	0 8 0	146 0 0
	2 Lieutenants 4 <i>s.</i> - -	0 8 0	146 0 0
	Three Serjeants, each 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> -	0 4 6	82 2 6
	Three Corporalls, each 1 <i>s.</i> -	0 3 0	54 15 0
	Two Drummers, each 1 <i>s.</i> -	0 2 0	36 10 0
	Fifty-six privat Soldiers, each 8 <i>d.</i> -	1 17 4	681 6 8
		3 2 10	1,146 14 2
Totall for this Regiment		42 0 0	15,512 10 0

Further information as to the preparations made in England to fill up the gaps made in the regiment by the disaster at Tongres and to strengthen it, are given in the War Office Miscellaneous Papers. On the 9th August an order was addressed to Roger Davis, a captain in the regiment, to raise the additional company. The warrant for the employment of the regiment in the Portuguese business is dated 10/21 August. A later warrant, dated 3rd November is addressed to Brigadier Lloyd and Colonel Gibson, Governor of Portsmouth, and orders them to complete the regiment being brought from Holland to the establishment of thirteen companies, each company to consist of three serjeants, three corporals, two drummers, and fifty-five private soldiers, servants included. In case the recruiting was difficult drafts were to be sent out of Sir Charles O'Hara's regiment, Colonels Henry Mordaunt, Wm. Evans, and Roger Elliot.

This year's campaign is chiefly memorable for the events that led up to the acquisition of the renowned fortress of Gibraltar. Although the regiment did not take a part in that siege, yet the events in Spain, which led up to this, are so connected with the regimental history, that some reference to that great event should not be left out of these pages.

Stanhope's (our Minister at the Hague) letters to the Secretary Hedges had given him full particulars of the events passing there, and of the preparations that were being made for the disposal of the Dutch Fleet and the transports containing the troops destined for Spain (which included the Queen's regiment), and the arrangements for the departure of the Austrian Duke. Admiral Callenburg, who commanded the Dutch Fleet, was considerably disturbed in his arrangements by the great storms already noted which at the end of 1703 raged about the Flanders coasts. On the 1st January (N.S.) Stanhope writes that "four days ago eight of his (Callenburg's) ships came into the Texel, viz., two transports, who had on board four companies of Horse and four of Foot, one tender to the Admiral, and five merchantmen." On the 4th January,* he wrote that the King of Spain left the Hague the day before, but did not sail that day; "by the shouting he heard about eight a.m. on the morning following, however, he concluded he went out to sea then."

* There seems to have been some considerable discrepancy in the dates, as given in the different papers, of the arrival of the King of Spain in England. In another place, the date of his arrival is given as 26th December (*see* p. 300).

Some of the troops from Holland, which were intended for Spain, had been left behind for want of transports. These troops, 2,000 in number (thirty-one companies of Foot, and eight troops of Dragoons), left the Hague a few days later. Stanhope complained of the delay of the commissary in providing transports, and of the danger they were in of delay, in case the frosts set in. His letters later on in the month show that his fears of the transports being frozen in were realised. On the 18th (N.S.) the troops on board were said to be suffering very much from the intense cold.

News had arrived at the Hague about the middle of the month of the safe arrival of the King of Spain in England, and of his finding Admiral Callenburg there with his Fleet. Amongst the troops on board was the "Queen's" regiment.

The Fleet with the troops for Spain, after having left, was driven back by violent storms, when the Lords in Council, on the 31st January, decided that Admiral Sir George Rooke was not to proceed with the King till there were 6,000 men ready to go with him. If all the troops were not ready he was to call a council of war, to decide what ships were to be left to convoy the transports and what number were to go with him, having due regard for the safety of the King. Prince George of Hesse, in the Panther, with three other transports, weathered the storm that had driven the other ships back, and reached Lisbon on the 31st January.

Rooke was detained by contrary winds till the 24th February (N.S.), when he finally left, and arrived at Lisbon on the 7th March. Secretary Hedges wrote on the same day that he had that day received advices of the Fleet entering the river of Lisbon, and that he had reason to believe the rest of the transport ships, "as well English as Dutch, under the convoy of Rear Admiral Leake, had joined the Grand Fleet, and that they went all together into the river of Lisbon."*

Some discrepancy in the dates of arrival was caused by the dispersion of the Fleet. The Admiral did not care to enter into Lisbon till his transports had arrived. Sir George Rooke, with the men-of-war, came to an anchor on the Tagus below Belem. The King of Portugal at once sent the Duke of Cardaval to compliment the King of Spain on his arrival.

On the 9th (N.S.), all being ready for the reception of the King, Rooke's flag ship the Royal Catherine, named in compliment to the Queen Dowager, came up the river and anchored over against the palace. The King of Spain landed about an hour afterwards, in

* Foreign various Miscellanies, 1702-1709, Vol. 278.

company with the King of Portugal, who had gone on board to welcome him. Duke Meinhardt Schomberg on the 11th (N.S.) presented, Lord Portmore (his successor in the command) and the rest of the general officers to the King of Portugal.

The troops were landed on the 13th (N.S.), some delay had occurred in the preparation made to receive them. Three battalions disembarked on the other side of the river from the town, and immediately began their march for the frontier. News had arrived at Lisbon that the Duke of Anjou (the other claimant for the Spanish throne), with all the troops he could get together, was within four days of the frontier. Some of the English and Dutch troops who had been, before marching to the frontier, encamped at a place called Belleisle, an exposed unhealthy spot near Lisbon, suffered extremely from sickness. The Duke of Schomberg seems to have had little care for the comfort and health of the troops under his command, and it was said had shown a want of care and tact in his conduct of the campaign.

On the 22nd April Methuen wrote that all the Infantry had safely arrived at their quarters at Alentjo or Alemtejo, near the frontiers. The troops at this place amounted to 12,000. The total strength of the allied Army, including the troops at Beira, amounted to 700 Horse and 20,300 Foot. Many of the troopers were not mounted, great difficulty having been experienced in getting horses.

The Queen of England, apprehensive that the supply of horses would be short, had sent to Bombay for some, and was very nervous that the ships conveying them would be anticipated by the French Fleet.

The commander-in-chief at Alentjo was the Count de Las Galveas, and at Beira the Marquis Das Minas, both old veterans, the former between eighty and ninety years of age. The Queen's, who were with the forces under Las Galveas and Schomberg, were early in May posted in the neighbourhood of Elvas.

The Portuguese seemed all through this campaign to have acted with curious inconsistency. A full light is thrown, in Secretary Hedges' correspondence, upon the difficulties that was experienced in moving the Portuguese Court to carry out the obligations they had entered into.

In May Hedges wrote to Methuen complaining of the slow advance of the expedition, urging that every preparation should be made for a more rigorous prosecution of the war next season. He

* State Papers, Portugal, 1700-1705, Vol. 19.

informed Methuen, in a letter dated 30th May, that the Portuguese had been complaining of the want of troops on board the Fleet. Methuen replied that it was their own fault, and that had they acted as they promised there would have been no lack of troops in Catalonia. The Queen of England had, it appears, agreed to supply arms to the Portuguese Army. By the middle of May two-thirds of these arms had been delivered. Hedges, apprehensive that our own troops might not be supplied with their arms in time, ordered Methuen to supply them out of those ordered for the Portuguese.

The French King had appointed as chief in command of his forces the famous Duke of Berwick. The Duke had with him an Army of 12,000 men, which included nineteen squadrons of Horse and a good field train. The Duke of Anjou had collected an Army of 6,000 Horse and 17,000 Foot. Early in the year Berwick had gone to Madrid, and having been commissioned as Captain-General in Spain, he took command of the combined French and Spanish forces. Feeling strong enough for the enterprise he resolved to become the attacking party, moving out at once towards the frontiers of Portugal.

The Dutch troops, who were under the command of Lieutenant-General Fagel, had been ordered to march towards Idanha in order to stop Berwick. Fagel's force only numbered 1,000 Foot and 100 Horse. Berwick divided his forces into three portions, one under himself, another commanded by Ronquillo, Captain-General of Old Castile, and the third force by Tzerclaes de Tilly, General in the Spanish Army. The movement of these troops in Portugal was as follows:—Berwick advanced by the right bank of the Tagus, Tzerclaes by the left, and Ronquillo by Almeida in Beira. Berwick rested at Alcantara till Phillip Duke of Anjou joined him, then, starting with his whole force on the 4th of May, he carried all before him. Fagel with the Dutch troops had advanced up the Tagus to endeavour to meet Berwick, but the latter being much stronger the Dutchman was obliged to retreat, with considerable loss, General Welderen, with two battalions, falling into Berwick's hands. In a letter from a private person in Amsterdam to Stanhope it is stated that General Fagel was posted at a pass near Castle Branco. Here they were attacked by 4,000 Spaniards and French. After a stubborn fight, in which Fagel lost about 480 of his small force killed, the Dutch were driven back to within fifteen leagues of Lisbon. Fagel himself narrowly escaped capture, his brigadier was taken prisoner and a lieutenant-colonel killed. A letter from Stanhope to Harley, dated 10/21 June, informs his correspondent that similar news had been received by the Pensionary, but that the force that met Fagel was 10,000 French soldiers, and that the defeated

general laid the blame of his defeat on the Portuguese for not sending the succour he had demanded. The French appeared to have paid dear for their victory, though opposed by such a handful of men. The regiments that Fagel had were the best of the Confederate States' Army. On the news of the defeat becoming known to the States they resolved to send 600 recruits and two more entire regiments (a reinforcement of 2,000 men) to Portugal.

Stanhope's regiment (11th) had, with the Portuguese battalion, been sent to garrison Portalegre. Berwick had been much disappointed at the inaction of General Tzerclaes, who had advanced against Estremas where Schomberg and Las Galveas had taken up a strong position; he therefore crossed the Tagus towards Portalegre, joined Tzerclaes and dispatched Lieutenant General D'Asfeld to besiege the place. This officer, who had been formerly an engineer, made such a skilful attack that Portalegre soon fell into his hands, the whole of the regiment surrendering as prisoners of war.* Stanhope, the ambassador at the Hague, writes on the 1/11 July, to Secretary Hedges, alluding to the capture of his regiment. He expresses himself as "much concerned for his poor officers as well as the honour of the regiment." He hopes the corps will be made up again and preserve its rank. After the capture of Portalegre Berwick advanced to observe Das Minas, who had been engaged in endeavouring to check Ronquillo. This general had advanced some distance into Beira, when he was met by Das Minas about ten miles south of Penamacor. The Portuguese General, assisted by the clever engineer Colonel Richards, was able to roll back the Cavalry of Ronquillo, who at first had gained some advantage by the impetuous Cavalry charge of his troops. Ronquillo was not able to advance against the guns so ably served by Richards, and was obliged to retreat to Zarra with considerable loss. Das Minas is reported to have behaved very gallantly in this action. The fight began about six p.m., "and was warmly disputed for about an hour." The French lost about 300 men killed, of which the large number of 150 were said to be officers, some of note, while the losses of the allies were inconsiderable. According to another account, the loss of the Spaniards in this battle was 500 killed, and, besides the prisoners taken, they lost all their baggage, which fell into the hands of Das Minas. Monsanto surrendered to Das Minas on the 4th June, and on the 16th the Portuguese General encamped at Ponsul, "about eight miles from Castle Branco."

* Parnell's War of the Spanish Succession, p. 72.

† State Papers, Portugal, 1700-1705, No. 19.

Berwick, with a much superior force, having arrived before that place, Das Minas, by the advice of Richards, took up a position under the walls of Penamacor, which place Berwick did not dare to attack. He therefore rejoined the Duke of Anjou (King Phillip). On the 21st June D'Asfeld commenced the siege of Castel Vide, which was garrisoned by Stuart's regiment (now 9th), and two Portuguese battalions. After a short siege, the Portuguese General wished to treat for surrender, but Lieutenant-Colonel Hussey, who commanded Stuart's battalion, threw his men into the castle determined to hold it. His plucky determination was frustrated by the perfidy of the Portuguese, who threw his powder down a well. He was therefore obliged to surrender.

In the State Papers, Portugal, there is a detailed account of the result of the siege of Castel Vide. An express from the camp informed Methuen that the Duke of Anjou attacked the place "with all the fury imaginable," three assaults being delivered. The Portuguese write that Colonel Hussey and the English officers of Stuart's regiment behaved themselves extremely well, both in their conduct and in their execution. The women in the town cordially assisted the defenders.* Another account of the Battle of Castle Vide (called here Castle David) gives the numbers of the combatants as 15,000 Portuguese and 14,000 French and Spaniards; loss of the Spaniards 500 killed and 150 officers, with all their baggage and ammunition. In their retreat after the battle the peasants fell upon the Cavalry and took 1,800 horses, giving no quarter to the men.† Portalegre was afterwards retaken, and "all the French garrison put to the sword."

The weather now becoming very hot, Das Minas returned to Almeida and Berwick re-entered Spanish territory, after demolishing all the fortresses in Portugal that he had captured.

The allied commanders also dispersed their troops, the English being quartered in Beira, except, of course, Stanhope's and Stuart's regiments, which, with the four Portuguese battalions, remained prisoners of war. Very little fighting had been done in the campaign up to this time, except by Stanhope's and Stuart's regiments. Methuen wrote to Secretary Hedges on the 10th June, giving, in a long interesting letter, many reasons why the campaign had been so abortive. Amongst them may be mentioned, want of money, bad condition of troops when landed, and their worse condition after encamping in a wild, unhealthy place, want of good horses, &c. The "Queen's" regiment, with others, were quartered

* State Papers, Portugal, 1700-1705, No. 19.

† Luttrell's Diary, Vol. V., pp. 441, 444.

in Estremos. The strength of the regiment after the campaign was 523 effective men.*

The Government at home, not being satisfied with the progress had decided to strengthen the forces in Portugal by fresh troops, and, what was of as great consequence, by a capable general. Schomberg had made himself very distasteful to the Portuguese, and was not beloved by the English. It was therefore decided to replace him by the gallant Huguenot Ruvigny, now Earl of Galway. On accepting the command he stipulated for full powers to fill the places of officers, hold courts-martial, and at the same time asked for considerable reinforcement of troops. The Duke of Ormond agreed to let him have 1,500 recruits from Ireland, also a "combined battalion of 600 men formed out of the several home corps of the First and the Coldstream Guards," which battalion was to be commanded by Brigadier Richard Russell.† The Queen wrote also to Lord Portmore (who was commander-in-chief *ad interim*), advising him of her having appointed Lord Galway to the supreme command, and that she relied upon his "care of the army," at the same time giving him leave to come home during the time operations were suspended.

* State Papers, Portugal, 1700-1705, No. 19.

† Hamilton's Guards, Vol. II., p. 2.

CHAPTER XII.

CONTINUATION OF THE WAR OF THE SPANISH
SUCCESSION—SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR.

1704.

CONTENTS.—Fresh Troops requisitioned by Lord Galway—Sir George Rooke, with Fleet and Land Forces, the latter under command of Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt, leaves England for Spain—Arrives at Barcelona—Governor Velasco at Barcelona successfully resists the attempt to capture the place—Troops re-embark and Fleet sails for Lagos, there joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel—Rooke urged to attempt capture of Cadiz—History of the several Sieges of Gibraltar—Rooke has a Council of War and decides to capture Gibraltar—Anchors in Bay of Gibraltar—Disposition for the attack on the Fortress—Prince George lands with Vanguard and summons Garrison to surrender—Garrison resolves to hold out to the last extremity—Byng conducts the Naval Attack—Siege commences—Garrison agrees to capitulate—Prince George marches into the Garrison and takes possession—The news of the capture of Gibraltar coldly received by the British Public—Prince George left as Governor—Naval Battle at Malaga—The “Queen’s” still at Estremos—Arrival of Lord Galway in Portugal—Sends urgent appeals for additional Troops—Colonel Fox relieves Prince George as Governor at Gibraltar—Queen declines to make an allowance to King of Spain—Close of the Campaign—Troops retire into Winter Quarters—Marquis of Villadarias sent to retake Gibraltar—Estimate of the strength of the four Regiments sent to Spain—Lord Galway gives Ministry a statement of affairs—Is informed that more Troops will arrive out in Spring—Parliament decides to send out Reinforcements—Troops arrive in Spain—Galway sends Reinforcements to Gibraltar—Sir John Leake arrives and gives fight—Governor Fox killed—Arrival of Reinforcements at Gibraltar—Lord Galway sends Plans for next year’s Campaign—Circumstances favourable for the Allies—English Merchants complain of their losses by French and Spanish Privateers—General Harvey sent home with account of state of affairs in Spain—Secretary Hedges advises Galway that Transports with Troops ready to depart—Campaign to open by invasion of the Estramadura—Galway wishes to march direct to Badajos—Strength of the Allied Forces—Allies march and attack Valencia—Das Minas before Salvatierra—Siege and capture of Albuquerque—Want of concord in Commanders—Siege of Gibraltar—Marshal de Tesse arrives at Gibraltar to take command of the besieging Army—Arrival of Sir John Leake—Siege raised—Terrible losses of the Besiegers during the Siege—Great preparations to strengthen Gibraltar—De Tesse strengthens Badajos—Das Minas takes Sarsa—De Tesse strengthens the Garrison of Cadiz and

marches to meet the Allies—Badajos threatened by the Allies—Troops retire into Summer Quarters—The “Queen’s” quartered at Serpa—Galway and Das Minas advance against Badajos—Galway wounded—By the advice of Fagel the Allies retire—De Tesse pursues—Earl of Peterborough’s operations—Strength of his Forces and the Fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel—Prince George of Darmstadt summoned from Gibraltar to assist at a Grand Council at Lisbon—Fleet with Troops under command of Prince of Darmstadt sail for Barcelona—Siege of Barcelona—Prince of Darmstadt killed—Capture of Montjuic—Barcelona capitulates—State of feeling in Arragon and Castile on the War—Lord Peterborough and the Siege of Barcelona—Prince of Darmstadt and the Siege of Barcelona—Sir Cloudesley Shovel and the Siege of Barcelona—“Impartial Enquiry” on the Siege—Capture of Valencia—Gallant defence of San Mateo by Lieutenant-Colonel John Jones—Galway given supreme command of the Army in Portugal—Strength and Cost of Troops in Portugal—Strength and Cost of Queen’s Regiment—Peterborough proposes to garrison Girona—Troops sent to Lerida and Torlaso—Death of Queen Catherine.

THE number of troops asked for by Lord Galway, according to a letter from Secretary Hedges to Methuen, and dated 11th July, was : a regiment of Guards, stated as numbering 768 men, 1,500 recruits from Ireland, a regiment of Foot, and one of Dragoons, and also eighteen more troops of Dragoons, which latter were to be raised amongst the French Huguenot refugees, and in addition to these troops he asked for 1,000 horses. Mr. Jezreel Jones was sent to Barbary to contract for the horses. Lord Galway also asked for 2,500 muskets, 1,000 bayonets, and 1,000 tents, all were to be sent out by the next convoy to Portugal.

While the minor events related in preceding chapter had been taking place on land, a great blow had been struck against the enemy, by the attack and capture of Gibraltar. The Minister Nottingham had written to Sir George Rooke, informing him that the French designed to besiege Nizza. The admiral immediately resolved to sail for that place with a sufficient force to give aid to the besieged. His Fleet consisted of thirty English ships and nineteen Dutch, besides frigates and smaller vessels. He had with him as vice-admiral that splendid seaman Sir John Leake, with Admiral Callenburg in command of the Dutch contingent.* The land forces on the Fleet consisted of 2,370 men, of whom 1,900 were English, 400 Dutch Marines, and seventy Spanish Foot. The gallant Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt was in command of the troops, with him was his brother Prince Henry, a Spanish Engineer named Ramos, and Colonel Henry Nugent, Count of Val de Soto. When the Fleet arrived at Barcelona, Prince George landed 1,600 Foot on the 30th May,

* Parnell, p. 44.

but the Governor Velasco showed such a resolute front, that the Prince, who had summoned him to surrender, thought it prudent to re-embark the troops.

After an unsuccessful attempt to intercept and engage the French Fleet under Toulouse, Rooke arrived off Lagos, and was there joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel with a reinforcement of twenty-three sail of the line. Rooke's Fleet now consisted of seventy-two ships, and an united force of sailors and soldiers of about 30,000 men. Methuen urged him to attempt the capture of Cadiz which was known to be weakly guarded, but the admiral hesitated, and seemed as if he was about to repeat the blunders caused by his over caution in 1702. Three times did Methuen write urgently entreating him to action either against Cadiz or against Mahon in Minorca, but Rooke could not be induced to act. In a letter of Methuen's, dated 26th August, to the admiral, he informs him of the strong desire of both the King of Spain and of Portugal that he should attack Cadiz "and the other places in Andalusia, while they enter Spain on this side." They considered a great effect would be produced by attacking Cadiz, and expressed as their opinion that a resolute bombardment of the town would soon cause it to surrender. In writing to Rooke on 12th September (N.S.), late in the night, Methuen expresses a hope that when he has repaired his damages he will go to Cadiz, and at least throw 500 bombs into the city, which would confirm his victory, and give the lie to the French, who were boasting they had a victory over him. For twelve days Rooke cruised about the Straits, a fourth despatch reaching him from Methuen, reiterating his former instructions.

Before describing the capture of Gibraltar which followed, it might be well to give a slight history of this famous fortress, one of the Pillars of Hercules, the key of the Mediterranean Sea, and one of the gems of the British Crown, which was now to be won by our Army. Gibraltar had been fiercely besieged many times in its history. As the regiment took a large part in the War of the Spanish Succession which occasioned its capture, and many times since have formed part of the garrison there, it may not be out of place to give a short history of this famous rock fortress.

In early times, during the Moslem ascendancy on the Spanish continent, Gibraltar was owned by them, and with varying successes it remained one of their pillars of strength till 1462. The rule of the Moors in Spain had been, at this epoch, for many years declining in strength. The "lustre of victory and success" which had gleamed in their arms so long was now so dim, and their power so feeble, that they were unable to keep their possessions. Gibraltar had already sustained seven sieges, oceans of blood had

been shed under its frowning rocks, and the time had now come when it was to revert again to the rule of the Christians.

The Moorish Kingdom of Granada had lost many of its provinces, and had left the Rock so miserably garrisoned that it was rather an easy prey when the eighth siege opened.

In August, 1462, a Moor, El Curro, who had been converted to Christianity, escaped from Gibraltar, and made his way to Tarifa, where he betrayed to the Alcade, Alonzo de Arcos, the weakness of the garrison, and described to him how easy would be its capture.

The Alcade at once set out with a small body of troops, but learning, by information extracted from some soldiers whom he had made prisoners, that his small force was inadequate to make the assault, he sent for assistance to the Count of Arcos and to Don Juan de Guzman. The first troops to arrive were from Castellan and Xemena. Alonzo, eager to obtain the honour of the capture of the place, ordered a general assault to be made, without waiting for a large body of troops under the command of Gonzalo de Avila, who were on their way to help in the siege. A repulse by the Moors, who valiantly drove back the storming parties, so disheartened the Christian troops, that they became insubordinate. A majority of the chiefs were in favour of an immediate retreat. A deserter who arrived at this juncture from the Moors, brought the news that the fortress was in a deplorable condition. De Arcos therefore determined to send to the Moors proposing terms for their surrender. Before their messenger had left the camp emissaries arrived from the garrison making overtures for peace, the terms, however, were not such as could be accepted. Soon after this Don Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, son of Count de Arcos, arrived. Finding that disputes had arisen as to which chief should have the privilege and honour of receiving the surrender of this renowned fortress, he suddenly, and without consulting the others, seized upon the place, but the Moors, though driven from the town by his troops, retreated to the castle, and prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity. The Duke of Medina now arrived with more troops, and was very much disturbed when he found that the city had been occupied, as he also coveted the honour of receiving the surrender. In the dispute between the Duke and Don Rodrigo, it was at last arranged that they should, when the place surrendered, enter the castle at the same time. The Moors, finding further resistance hopeless, gave in, and the two conquerors received the submission in the castle on the 20th August 1462, and on this date Gibraltar reverted permanent to the dominion of the Christians.* Posterity has justly

* History of Gibraltar, Sayer, p. 66.

given the fame of this capture to Alonzo de Arcos, and over his tomb in the vault of the Carthusian monastery at Seville his famous exploit is properly recorded.

The King of Castile, fully conscious of the value of the fortress, did not hesitate to annex it, but the internal troubles in his kingdom and his deplorable weakness of character (which the historian Prescott writes had so debased his kingdom that "public faith became a jest, the Treasury bankrupt, the Court a brothel, and private morals too loose and audacious to seek even the veil of hypocrisy" *) forced him at last to give way to the Duke of Medina, who claimed it was his by right of conquest. The governor of the fortress, however, made a gallant defence against the Duke, who was not able to get possession of the castle until after ten months' siege. The capitulation took place in June, 1467. The fortress remained under the rule of the Duke of Medina Sidonia and his successors for thirty-four years. On the 22nd December 1501 it became again a part of the Kingdom of Castile.

In 1540 the Rock sustained a terrible siege by the Mediterranean Pirates. The celebrated Hayradin Barbarossa, chief of these marauders, had long desired to make an attempt to capture the rock, but not being himself able to undertake it, in consequence of his "numerous piratical engagements," he sent some of his most renowned chieftains, led by the Viceroy of Algiers, to make the attempt. On the 20th August 1540 the expedition sailed from Algiers. It consisted of sixteen ships, the galleys being manned by 1,000 Christian slaves at the oars; 2,000 soldiers were to attack by land. They soon captured the town, which they plundered, but were unable to possess themselves of the castle. This so enraged them that they overran the city, and took captive all who came in their way including several men of rank and wealth. They then took to their ships, and after a raid on the coast near Algeciras, where they repeated their performances of murdering and plundering, they started for Algiers. Fortunately the Spanish Fleet, under Don Barnardino de Mendoza, fell in with them. After a desperate engagement Mendoza dispersed them, taking 437 Turks prisoners and liberating 837 Christian slaves.†

The lesson of this raid was not lost on the garrison. A proper system of defence was ordered, and later on, in 1552, a celebrated engineer, Don Juan Calvi, and after him, in 1575, an Italian engineer, "el Fratinio," erected defensive works and entirely enclosed the city by walls.

* Prescott, Vol. I., p. 246.

† History of Gibraltar, Sayer, p. 91.

In the early part of 1693 Spain, being at that time in alliance with England and at war with France, a fleet of British and Dutch ships, under the command of Sir George Rooke, were convoying a large fleet of merchantmen, bound for Smyrna and the Levant. On the 17th June Marshal Tourville came on them, and forcing an engagement, in spite of the efforts of the allied squadrons to avoid it, they being much inferior in numbers, he captured three Dutch men-of-war, but, making a tactical error in giving chase with part of his Fleet to the Dutch merchantmen (who, taking advantage of the fight, were endeavouring to escape to Lisbon), and thus dividing his forces, he was unable to decisively finish the action before night. Some of the English Fleet escaped, sailing for the coast of Ireland. The ships pursued by the French changed their course from Cadiz and made for Gibraltar, where they arrived on the 10th July. The garrison having been warned, fired upon the French ships and defeated their attempt to cut out the merchantmen. After a bombardment of Gibraltar for nine days, during which little damage was done to the fortifications, the French Fleet retired.

The next event in the history of the Rock was its capture by the Fleet under Rooke, now related.

On the 28th July (N.S.) Rooke was within a few leagues of Tetuan, on the African coast, when the Admiral signalled for the Fleet to be hove to—a council of war was then held on board the flag ship *Royal Catherine*. There were present, besides the Admiral, the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Sir John Leake, Byng, Sir Thomas Wishaw, and the admirals of the Dutch Division. After a long discussion it was decided to make an attempt to capture Gibraltar. Four days were spent in making the necessary preparations, an advanced guard, consisting of seventeen ships and three bomb vessels, being sent off under the command of Admiral Byng. On the 2nd August (N.S.) the Fleet anchored in the Bay of Gibraltar.

The English Fleet, consisting of 45 ships, was disposed as follows :—

FIRST DIVISION.

Ten ships with 690 guns and 4,348 men, commanded by Admiral Byng, whose flag ship was the "*Ranelagh*."

SECOND DIVISION.

Twelve ships, with 852 guns and 5,535 men, commanded by Sir George Rooke, whose flag ship was the "*Royal Catherine*."

THIRD DIVISION.

Fourteen ships, with 978 guns and 9,815 men, commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, whose flag ship was the "*Barfleur*."

FOURTH DIVISION.

Nine ships, with 640 guns and 4,080 men, commanded by Admiral Sir J. Leake, whose flag ship was the "Prince George."

There were, in addition to the line of battleships, six frigates, 208 guns, seven fire ships, two bomb vessels, two hospital ships, and the yacht William and Mary. Besides these there was the Dutch Fleet under Admirals Callenburg, Vassenaer, with Vanderdassen in reserve.

The same evening the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt landed on the Isthmus Punta Mala, north front, with 2,000 Marines and some Spaniards, and summoned the garrison to surrender. A council of city magnates was at once assembled to deliberate. The reply was worthy of the brave men the garrison proved themselves to be. It was to the effect that as they had taken the oath of fidelity to their King, they would, as loyal subjects, sacrifice their lives in the defence of the city and its inhabitants, and that consequently "no further reply was necessary." The garrison was miserably weak, and consisted of only 80 regular soldiers and 470 militia and armed inhabitants. The fortifications, also, were in bad repair, nevertheless the governor, Don Diego de Salinas, resolved to defend it to the last extremity. The defence they made to such an overwhelmingly superior force is as much a testimony to their gallantry as it is an evidence of the almost impregnable nature of the place.

The attacking squadron, under Byng, consisted of twelve third rate, four fourth rate ships, and six ships of the Dutch division, under the command of Vanderdassen. Their front extended along the west side, from the New to the Old Molehead.

By Sunday, August 3rd (N.S.), Byng had his ships in position before the western sea wall. The English ships were the Monmouth, Suffolk, Essex, Grafton, Swiftsure, Nassau, Eagle, Burford, Berwick, Kingston, Lennox, and Yarmouth, all of seventy guns each, and with the Dutch ships gave a total strength of 1,490 guns and 8,000 men.

Before commencing the bombardment, the Prince again summoned the garrison to surrender, and, no reply being received, the guns opened fire, 15,000 shot being thrown into the place in six hours. The garrison did their best with their ill-manned batteries, but it was not long before the terrific cannonading of the Fleet silenced them, a concentrated fire from the fourth division was now poured on the walls near the New Mole, and a breach having been made, Captain Hicks, of the Yarmouth, got into the fort. The enemy, however, had prepared for them, and the party had

hardly entered the place when a mine was sprung and it blew up, killing two officers and forty men and wounding sixty, and capsising seven of the boats.* Captain Whitaker, of the Dorsetshire, who had landed to support Hicks, then took possession of the fort, and advanced to opposite the south face of the town, where he encamped.

The Marines on the isthmus had meanwhile been keeping up a heavy fire on a fort on the Mole head, and having destroyed it the Mole and defences on the north-west were captured.

Being thus taken on both flanks and fiercely assailed all along the line, and their guns silenced, the garrison hung out a flag of truce, and articles of honourable capitulation drawn up by the Prince of Hesse having been agreed upon, the garrison surrendered. On the 6th August (N.S.) the Prince marched in and took possession of the famous Rock.

Bishop Burnett, in writing upon this great historical event, at that time looked upon coldly by the general public, did all he could to depreciate this new and immensely valuable prize. He hated Rooke with a most unsaintly hatred, and in recording the capture he wrote, that the admiral "fell in upon Gibraltar, spent much powder bombarding it to very little purpose, that he might seem to attempt something, though there was no reason to hope he would succeed."† He gave all the credit of the capture to the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, who, he writes, "with the marines that were on board the Fleet, possessed himself of the place." Considering the gallant defence and the impregnable nature of the Rock it cannot be said that the loss was great. Two lieutenants, one master, and fifty-seven sailors killed, one captain and seven lieutenants, one boatswain and 207 sailors wounded.

The admiral, after the fortress capitulated, occupied himself with restoring tranquility, and arranging for the government of the place and for its defence. The Prince Hesse-Darmstadt was left as governor, with a force of 1,800 sailors and two Dutch battalions. Everything was done, so far as it was possible, to secure it from attack, as it was felt that it would not be long before its re-capture was attempted.

Sir George Rooke, after the capture of Gibraltar, knew well he would have to fight Toulouse, who had long been in search of him. Toulouse, having marked down his game, returned to bring up his galleys, which he had left at Velez Malaga. On the 20th August the French Fleet was sighted about ten leagues off. Rooke

* Sayer's History of Gibraltar. p. 110.

† Burnett's Own Times, p. 757.

having now been joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel on the night of the 20th, moved out to engage the French, but Toulouse had disappeared to bring up his galleys. The two Fleets again came in sight of each other on the 23rd. The desperate and gallantly fought naval battle of Malaga has been so often described, that it must be familiar to most readers of national history. It was a fight that was as honourable, on account of its daring and stubborn fighting, to the French as to the allies; neither side really got a victory, though both claimed it, but there can be no doubt if the French had renewed the fight, the result would have most likely been disastrous to the allies.

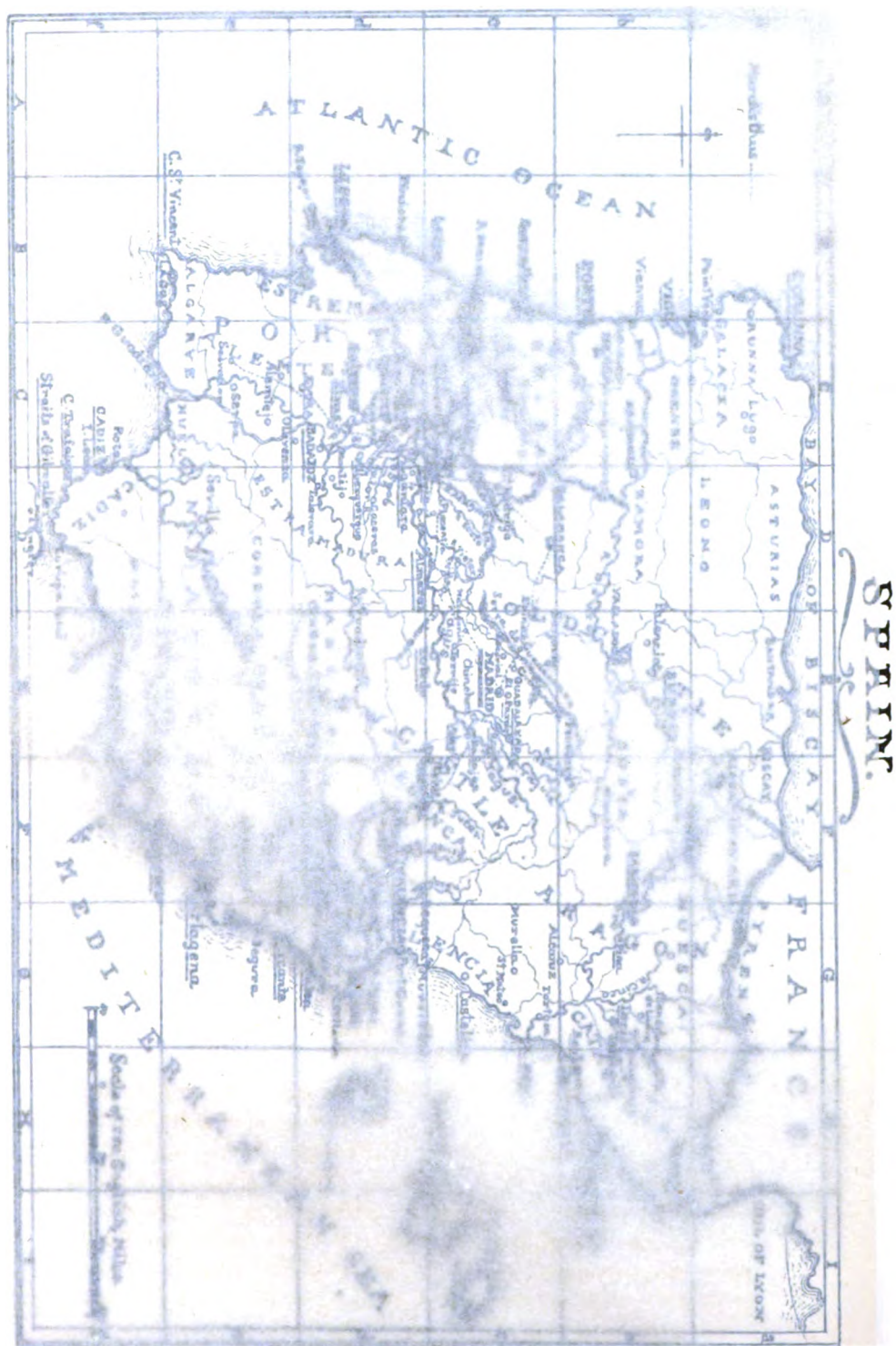
On the 12, 23 July the "Queen's" were at Estremos, with the Earl of Barrymore's, Colonel Blood's, Colonel Duncanson's, Colonel Brudenell's, and Lord Mountjoy's Regiments. The strength of the regiment is given as 523 effective men, wanting to complete, 162. The total of the six regiments was 3,197 effective men, and 840 men wanting to complete. This total was, however, reduced by 702 sick in the various places.

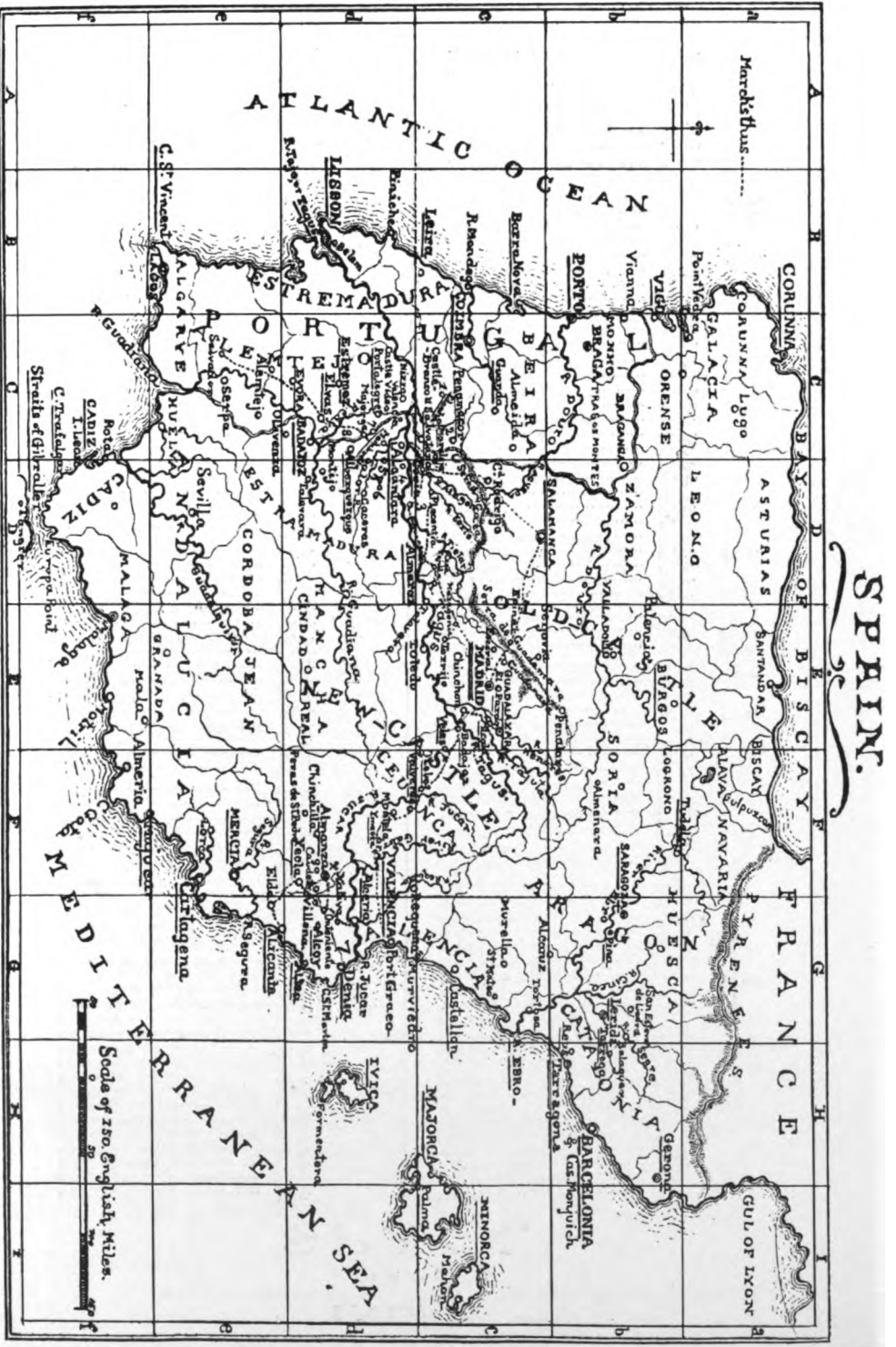
A letter of the 11th August (N.S.) announced the arrival of the new commander-in-chief, Lord Galway, at Lisbon. The Duke of Schomberg wrote to Hedges, informing him that he had received the Queen's commands to return to England upon the arrival of Lord Galway, and would obey as soon as he had waited upon the King of Portugal. Methuen at once sought an interview with Galway, and acquainted him with the position of affairs.

The new commander-in-chief unfortunately fell sick on his arrival at Lisbon, which kept him there till about the 18th August, but though ill he worked hard at preparations for the campaign, showing a full appreciation of the difficulties he knew he should have to encounter.

The letters of Methuen to Hedges in September show the greatest anxiety that the splendid acquisition of Gibraltar should be well guarded, and by English soldiers; Methuen seems to have had little faith in the Portuguese.

Lord Galway had, on his arrival at Lisbon, sent urgent appeals for additional troops, but it was not until the end of the month of September that the convoy with the troops set out from England arrived. Hedges wrote to Prince George, in reply to a demand he had made for troops for Gibraltar, that the Queen would do all she could towards assisting, but she expected the Kings of Spain and Portugal to send troops to Gibraltar and relieve the Marines left there by Sir George Rooke. A later letter of Hedges to Methuen informs him that on further consideration the Queen, not thinking the Portuguese troops sufficiently reliable to garrison





TO MAP OF

SPAIN.

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Gibraltar, had decided to order Lord Galway to send English troops there, which were to be replaced by others before the next campaign.* The Queen informed the commander-in-chief that in no case was he to give leave to any officers to come home, as the service required every one to be at his post. Colonel Fox had been appointed by the Queen Governor of Gibraltar; and a supply of 4,000 palisadoes and 100 barrels of gunpowder had been sent there early in October.

The Queen, in reply to a request of Lord Galway for subsistence for the King of Spain, wrote that she thought the Emperor (the father of the King) having, by the assistance of the forces of the Queen, "not only secured his country, but got into possession of the greater part of that of the Elector of Bavaria," ought to be able to make his son an allowance. The Queen acknowledges herself "at this time at a full stretch in point of expenses."† The expenses of the Peninsular Campaign appeared to be bearing heavily upon the English Treasury.

The campaign of the year ended without any action of importance, the allies, finding the Duke of Berwick well entrenched, were unable to advance. Berwick had taken up a very strong position on the Spanish side of the River Agueda, between Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, with intent should it be attempted by the allies to dispute the passage of the river.‡

The gallant engineer, Colonel Richards, writing from Guerda on the 8th September, refers to the arrival of the King of Spain, and the measures taken to second the long talked of project of taking Ciudad Rodrigo. A large party, consisting of 1,000 Horse and 500 Foot, was sent on the 27th August to reconnoitre. Richards reported that "the place of itself is of little importance, but the access to it I apprehend to be much more difficult than the people of the country make it, for we must pass the River Agueda, which although at present carries but little water, yet it is bounded on both sides by inaccessible mountains, so that there is not above three or four places which are passable, and these are very straight and steep, so that should the enemy attend us there I judge it would be very warm work. Beyond the river is a plain campagne country, and consequently very proper for the enemy's Horse, in which it is supposed they much excel us. If they do push this design of Ciudad Rodrigo, pray God send us good success, but it is the only town in Europe that has been so fairly

* Secretary's Letter Book, Portugal, 1703-1705, No. 12.

† Secretary's Letter Book, Portugal, 1703-1705, No. 22.

‡ State Papers, Portugal, 1700-1705, No. 19.

dealt with, for it is above two or three months that we have been threatening them." * On the 9th October (N.S.) both sides retired into their winter quarters.

It was not without cause that anxiety was felt about Gibraltar. The Duke of Berwick had, early in September, sent off the Marquis of Villadarias to besiege the Rock, and he now took the opportunity given by the cessation of hostilities to send a considerable body of troops to reinforce the Marquis.

The campaign in Holland opened out about the beginning of March. The Duke of Marlborough returned from England on the 22nd April, on which day he landed at Maerslandhuys. The allies had had great success in Flanders by the magnificent victories of Schellenberg and Blenheim. The great Battle of Blenheim, the crowning glory of Marlborough, was a tremendous blow to the power of France. It was a gallant fight, and the records of its stirring episodes even now quicken the pulse of every Englishman who loves to read of the brave deeds of his forefathers. The King of Spain wrote two letters to Queen Anne, thanking her warmly for her aid in his cause in Spain, and congratulating her upon the success of her arms at Gibraltar, and with the Duke of Marlborough in Flanders.†

In the Army estimates, the charge for the year of the four regiments going to Portugal, is given as 667,037 guilders 10 stivers (ten guilders eleven stivers to the pound sterling). These four regiments are named as Lord Portmore's (the Queen's), Lieutenant-General Churchill's, Colonel Stanhope's, and Colonel Meredith's. The strength of each regiment was 876 men, and a total of the four 3,504. Another estimate of the forces "designed for Portugal for the year 1704" gives the names of Lord Portmore's regiment, Lieutenant-General Stuart's, Colonel Stanhope's, Earl of Barrymore's, Colonel Blood's, Colonel Brudenell's, Lord Montjoy's, and Colonel Leigh's, a total of (with Cavalry, two regiments) 8,015 men and horses.‡

On the 10, 21 October Lord Galway wrote to Secretary Hedges from his camp at Perma Macas, and a few days later from Abrantes, informing him of the state of affairs. The Minister, in reply, gave Lord Galway particulars of the augmentation of the Fleet under Sir John Leake, from twelve to upwards of twenty men-of-war. He also informed him of the intention of the Queen to send troops to the Mediterranean early in the spring. The King

* State Papers, Spain, 1700-1715, No. 132, Sept.

† State Papers, Spain 1700-1707, No. 131.

‡ Journals of the House of Commons, 1702-1704, Vol. 14.

of Spain, according to a letter of Hedges to Methuen, appears to have been greatly dejected at the non-success of the year's campaign, and the Minister wrote that there was reason to fear the enemies of the Confederacy would endeavour to work upon his dejection to still further disgust him, and incline him to throw up his engagements. Methuen was to do his best to avoid such a catastrophe. In the early part of December Galway heard from Hedges that Parliament had decided to raise 5,000 land forces, to accompany the Fleet and to act in conjunction with 3,000 Dutch troops. It was also proposed to increase the squadron at Lisbon to a total of sixty-four English and Dutch ships. In the letter in which this information is sent, the Queen asks the opinion of Lord Galway as to the conduct of the operations in the ensuing spring, informing him that she had been told that the King of Spain had made a great error in landing at Lisbon instead of at Barcelona. Had he done the latter, he might have been already at Madrid, and the war would have been over.

Lord Galway, it is related, had, upon his arrival, expressed his opinion that the presence of two sovereigns in the field (alluding to the Kings of Portugal and Spain) was not advantageous for the service intended.*

The long expected troops from Ireland arrived early in December, to the great satisfaction of Lord Galway, as he was enabled to relieve the anxiety of all with respect to the safety of Gibraltar by at once sending off the promised succour. The garrison had been in great peril in November. Villadarias had been prosecuting the siege with vigour, and had had the assistance of five French frigates of thirty or forty guns each. Sir John Leake most opportunely arrived on the 6th December, and at once gave fight, capturing one of the French ships. Five hundred Spaniards who had landed had been attacked by the garrison, and all killed or taken prisoners. The loss on the side of the garrison was small, but they sustained a serious loss by the death of Brigadier Fox of the Marines, and Colonel Nugent, Deputy Governor under the Prince of Hesse, both having been killed. News was received at Lisbon about the third week of December of the safe arrival of the reinforcements at Gibraltar. These consisted of 1,000 English, 500 Dutch, and 500 Portuguese troops. This was in addition to the detachment sent on the arrival of the troops from Ireland.†

Lord Galway, as early as possible after his arrival in Spain,

* Impartial Enquiry, &c.

† Luttrell's Diary, Vol. 5, p. 494.

had sent to England his plans for the prosecution of this year's campaign. These particulars were approved by the Queen early in January. Secretary Hedges, in advising Lord Galway of this, at the same time informed him that 1,380 horses were then being shipped for the use of the forces. Hedges also informed him that Stuart's and Stanhope's regiments were to be formed into one, under the command of General Stuart. Colonel Stanhope was to raise an entirely new regiment. In the War Office papers, is an account of the disposition of the men taken prisoners in Stanhope's and Stuart's regiment, by which it appears that 644 men were prisoners in France. These were afterwards exchanged for French prisoners of war; and 490 of them added to the 350 of the combined regiment in Spain, making 840 as its strength. The remainder of the 644 prisoners (154) were sent home to England, and formed the nucleus of the new regiment which Colonel Stanhope was ordered to raise. These men appear to have arrived at Southampton on the 12th June.*

Galway was being constantly urged to push the Portuguese to more active assistance, as circumstances were considered favourable for the allies. The French were much in want of horses and ammunition. Amongst other items of news at this time, it was said that the English merchants were complaining of their losses, caused by the privateering of the French and Spanish ships.

In February Major-General Harvey was sent home by Galway with an account of the state of affairs at Lisbon. According to Hedges' reply to this report, the account sent must have been very despondent. Hedges tried to cheer the commander-in-chief by informing him that the transports, with supplies, were ready to sail with the first favourable wind, and that 5,000 English and 2,500 Dutch troops were being got ready to send to him. He wrote that he hoped to get them off at an early date, but it was not until the end of the month of March that he was able to inform Methuen the transports were ready; they, however, did not actually sail until a month later, the end of April.

It had been resolved to open the campaign by an invasion of the Estramadura, and to besiege Valenza, advantage being taken of the absence of the enemy's troops in this part of Spain.

Lord Galway's plans were not in accord with this. He was in favour of marching direct to Badajos, which he considered, if captured, would be a splendid base of operations, being the principal fortress of the province.

* Secretary's Letter Book, 1703-1706.

The forces which the allies had for the campaign were as follows:—

ENGLISH.

Harvey's Horse	...	...	...	200
5 regiments of Foot	...	...	...	2,500

The Foot included the Queen's regiment, with Colonels Stuart's Blood's, Duncanson's, also Brudenell's Artillery, one train of five 5-pounders.

The total of the other forces were—

Dutch	...	...	...	...	2,300
Portuguese	...	...	...	...	12,000

The Portuguese Artillery consisting of twenty heavy guns, seven mortars, twenty-four field pieces, and eighty cohorns. It will thus be seen that, besides the Artillery, the allied forces amounted to 17,000 men.

Lord Galway had, by direction of the King of Spain, made an exact review of the forces, to send home to the Queen. This inspection, according to a letter of Methuen to Hedges, was made at Alentjo but the particulars of the review are not given in his letter.*

On the 27th April the allies began their march towards Valenza, and encamped before the place on the 2nd May. The town was not well fortified, and the garrison was stated to be about 850 men.

General Fagel directed the operations. The day after their arrival siege works were commenced, and in three days the bombardment began. On the 8th a breach was made ready for the assault. The advanced force ordered to begin the attack consisted of 900 Grenadiers, from the English, Dutch, and Portuguese regiments. The support was made up of Duncanson's regiment, one Dutch, and two Portuguese regiments.

The Grenadiers advanced bravely to the breach, but were met by such a heavy fire that they began to fall back, when Duncanson's regiment was seen advancing "headed by their colonel, with colours flying," who, resolutely mounting the breach, drove the enemy back into the castle, the gallant leader being fatally wounded. According to a letter dated 25th June (o.s.), in the Portugal State Papers, Duncanson must have lingered on till about the end of the month. This letter, which is evidently from Colonel Wade, who succeeded to the command of the regiment, gives the date of his death at about three weeks from the date of his letter. Methuen, writing to Hedges of the siege of Valenza, states that "the English had the greatest share of the honour and danger."† As

* State Papers, Portugal, 1700-1708, No. 19.

† Ibid.

soon as the enemy had been driven into the castle, they hung out a white flag, and surrendered as prisoners of war. Unfortunately the Portuguese troops pillaged the town after it was taken. A council of war was held after the capture of Valenza, and on the 12th it was resolved, in view of the great difficulties in carrying provisions, and especially the Artillery, to Alcantara, to besiege Albuquerque.

Das Minas marched early in the morning of the 4th with his Horse and some regiments of Foot, to invest Salvatierra. The garrison being small, it soon fell into his hands. He found there a large quantity of ammunition and provisions.

Methuen, writing home on the state of affairs, hopes that the resolve not to go to Alcantara will be changed on receiving letters which were expected from the King of Portugal, who was greatly in favour of an advance on Alcantara or Badajos.

The frontier fortress of Albuquerque was not far from Valenza, and it was not long, therefore, after the troops left Valenza, before the town was invested and the siege began. The place was situated on a hill surmounted by a castle. It was only accessible on one side. The garrison consisted of 800 Spaniards. In accordance with the arrangement that had been come to with the allied commanders, each of the three was to have a week's command of the operations. It was, therefore, as Fagel and Das Minas had in turn directed operations, Galway's turn. He quickly made his preparations, and on the 16th commenced the attack by storming the suburbs of the town. The Portuguese in this attack behaved very gallantly. The Artillery could make little impression on the walls of the place, which were of very solid and strong masonry. Mining was, therefore, commenced. On the 20th, a breach having been made in the wall of a church near the ramparts, a party was sent up and managed to gain a position in the church. The garrison, not expecting an attack on that side, were completely taken by surprise, and, finding further resistance useless, they surrendered.* In this siege the capable Engineer, Lieutenant-Colonel Bennet, who had been so valuable in the defence of Gibraltar, was wounded. Galway at once sent off an account of the capture to Hedges, informing him, also, that they had resolved to besiege Badajos. Hedges wrote the day he received the despatch, warmly congratulating Galway on his success.

The London Gazette of 10th May, in giving an account of the capture of Albuquerque, informed its readers that it is looked upon

* Parnell, p. 101.

as one of great importance on account of the strength of the castle, which was considered impregnable. In a letter of Methuen to Hedges, dated 25th May (N.S.), referring to the capture, he writes, "The success in taking it so very soon is wholly owing to his lordship (Galway), whose week of command began the first day of the siege." This letter of Methuen's, enclosing Lord Galway's (already referred to), gives painful particulars of the disputes with respect to the plan of operations between the different commanders, which no doubt caused the ultimate ill success of the campaign.*

Early in the year the Spaniards and French, having received considerable reinforcements before Gibraltar, on the 26th and 27th January made determined efforts to get a lodgment in the garrison, but were again unsuccessful. The siege had now lasted about five months, and no success having attended the efforts of Villadarias, it was decided by the French Court, after consultation with the Duke of Anjou (King Phillip), to send the capable French Marshal De Tesse to conduct the operations.

De Tesse arrived before Gibraltar on the 8th February, bringing with him 4,000 men. On the 28th the French Fleet came into the Bay, and it was arranged that a combined attack by sea and land should be attempted. Fortunately, the arrangements that were made for this were frustrated by a gale that sprung up about the time when the attack was to be made.

The marshal had not been long before Gibraltar before he saw that the siege was doomed to failure. Writing to his master, King Louis, in April, he says, "We have failed before Gibraltar for want of method and precaution." In another letter to the Prince of Condé, he complains bitterly of the want of enterprise of the Spaniards, and with reference to the campaign, he writes, "Notwithstanding all the measures said to be adopted for obtaining money and other requisites, they are still in the same wretched condition at Madrid as we are here."† The siege ended with the arrival of Sir John Leake on the 10th March. Commodore Pointé, the French officer in command of the squadron in the bay, as soon as he became aware of the approach of the English Fleet, endeavoured to escape. Leake, quickly seeing by the fire of the garrison on the French ships as they passed the batteries at Europa point, that the garrison was safe, gave chase to the five French vessels, capturing four of them and driving another on

* State Papers, Portugal, 1706, No. 24.

Note.—This paper has been put in a wrong volume in Record Office, and is therefore wrongly dated 1706; it should be 1705, and put in Vol. XIX.

† History of Gibraltar, Sayer, p. 146.

shore, where it was burnt. Failing to come up with the other ships, he returned to Gibraltar, and landed his supplies of men and ammunition.

De Tesse now sent Colonel Renaud, the engineer, to tell King Louis of his intention to abandon the siege. For a short time after this a small remnant of the besiegers kept up an appearance of activity, in order that the Army might be saved in its retreat.

During the siege the losses of the besiegers is said to have been not less than 19,000 men, principally from disease occasioned by the hardships they suffered. Over 70,000 shot and 8,000 shell were thrown into the place. This siege will for ever remain as a testimony to the energy and capacity of the gallant soldier Prince George of Darmstadt.

Great efforts were made immediately after the siege was raised to strengthen Gibraltar against a probable new attempt on the place, and some idea of the extent of these preparations may be formed by the demand for 100,000*l.* worth of timber, which was ordered to be supplied from Spain or Portugal, and some from Barbary.

On the 29th May the Fleet from Ireland arrived in Lisbon with the horses and troops promised. Out of these 1,380 horses, 1,000 were for the Queen's troops, and the remainder for the Dutch.

The French Marshal De Tesse, on the raising of the siege of Gibraltar, hastened to the theatre of war, being joined there by 6,000 troops brought from Gibraltar. He at once took measures to protect Badajos, which, he had been informed, was to be the next objective of his enemies, strengthening the garrison by throwing in three French battalions and some Grenadiers.

Das Minas, in the meantime, had not been idle. On the 16th May (N.S.) Methuen writes home that Minas had taken Sarca (or Sarsa), which he plundered and burnt. Sarca was a small place, but in an advantageous position, near Alcantara. The taking of Sarca opened the way to Alcantara. Das Minas was now threatened by the French General Thony, who had advanced from Ciudad Rodrigo; and feeling unequal to resisting him, he retired to his former shelter, Penamacor.

The great activity of our capable Minister at Lisbon, kept the Ministers at home well informed of events in Spain. In his letter of the 16th, already quoted, he had, amongst other matters, noted the arrival of the soldiers and sailors from Cadiz, who had been taken prisoners by the French, and who had been exchanged for some sent to the same place by Methuen. The arrival of these men gave the ambassador fresh information of the strength and

disposition of the troops in that town. The garrison at Cadiz was stated to have had only about 800 men, but encamped round about the place were 1,500 Horse and 4,000 Walloon French. Great activity was being displayed by the garrison in fortifying the place.

After completing his arrangements for the safety of Cadiz, De Tesse marched, as already noted, towards the allies, who were threatening Badajos.

On the 9th June Hedges received from Methuen an account of the operations to the 6th June, dated from the camp near Badajos.* The march of the allies from Albuquerque towards Badajos commenced on the 4th at four a.m. As soon as the vanguard of the allies appeared, the enemy fired a signal gun to call out the guards, and when the allies appeared on the plains they decamped, and took up a position on the hills, guarding the passage of the river with some dismounted Dragoons. These were soon forced back by a Portuguese battalion. On the evening of the 4th the Army encamped, with their left to the bridge Hoebora and the right towards the fort St. Christopher. On the 5th they advanced about a league, and encamped between the Guadiana and the Caya. An attempt of De Tesse to dislodge them was defeated, but preparations were made to attack their left, the French crossing the Guadiana for that purpose.

A council of war was now held, at which it was decided to at once begin the siege. All the cannon and ammunition that could be spared was ordered from Elvas, Estremos, and Olivenca to be in readiness, and a redoubt was commenced to protect the works of a bridge which it was decided to throw across the river. The Portuguese Generals were, however, so strongly opposed to this, that Galway and Fagel were obliged to give in. On the 13th orders arrived from Lisbon for the Army to separate into summer quarters. In obedience to these orders they crossed the Caya and retreated into Portugal, where the English camped along the Andalusian frontier.† The Queen's was stationed at a small place called Serpa, and remained there until the autumn campaign commenced.

The second attempt at Badajos was not more successful. On the last day in September, Galway with the English troops again crossed the frontier at Elvas, and marched to Fonte de Sapateros,

* This letter is wrongly dated in the Papers as 6th May. State Papers, Portugal, 1700-1705, No. 19.

† Parnell, p. 101.

Das Minas followed the next day, the two forces joining hands at the River Caya. On the 2nd October they passed the Caya, the Hoebora, and the Guadiana, and encamped before Badajos "laying all night with their arms."* By the 4th the trenches were opened. De Tesse had encamped at Talavera, about two leagues from Badajos. His force was said to consist of 4,000 Horse and 5,000 Foot. The garrison in Badajos numbered 2,500 men, made up of French and Spanish troops, many of the latter being recruited from the Militia. During the next six days, much work was got through, bringing up the great cannon, making bridges over the Guadiana, building redoubts for the security of the works, and erecting batteries. The guns that were mounted in the batteries comprised forty-two great cannon and twelve mortars. The fusilade began on Sunday the 11th October. In a letter of Methuen's to Hedges, giving him an account of the progress of the siege, he writes "There is great hope, the place cannot hold out above ten days." The strength of the allies, as given by Parnell, in his account of the siege, was 2,500 English, 2,100 Dutch, and 16,400 Portuguese. In a former letter to the Minister Methuen estimated the strength of the Portuguese forces on the frontier of Alentjo as thirty-seven battalions of Foot, 16,000, and forty-seven squadrons of Horse, 4,500. Das Minas was in supreme command. Corsano, Galway, and Fagel commanded weekly in their turn as had been formerly arranged. The latter officer was opposed to the idea of the siege, as he is said to have been to most of the plans and designs of Galway. A letter of John Milner from Lisbon gives many particulars of the conduct of Fagel, which, if only half true, would fully account for the failure of the allies before Badajos. Milner goes so far as to say that the Dutch General was a traitor to the cause he was supposed to be fighting for, and that he had been gained over by the French.

The town of Badajos is situated on the left bank of the Guadiana, which covers it on the north. The right bank was defended by detached works, the principal one being St. Christopher, or San Cristoval. Very soon after the guns opened fire on the 11th a Spanish shell landed in a small powder magazine in one of the batteries of the allies and blew it up, causing dire confusion and loss. Galway at once proceeded to the battery to reanimate the men. He had not been long there when, as he was stretching out his right hand to give some directions, a shot shattered his arm, and so desperate was the nature of the wound that the arm had to

* State Papers, Portugal, 1700-1705, No. 19.

be immediately amputated just below the elbow. The Dutch General Fagel, who, just before the troops left Elvas, had obtained leave of absence to go to Holland, and was travelling slowly, was immediately summoned back to take the command, Galway, in spite of the torture of his wounded arm, riding round with him to show him the dispositions he had made for the siege, and giving him particulars as to when and where the several lines were to pass the Guadiana. On the 14th October a breach sixty yards wide had been made in the walls of the fortress, and it was decided next day to attempt a general assault.

The French Marshal De Tesse now resolved to make a desperate attempt to release the besieged fortress. He had received considerable reinforcements, and by a masterly and well designed march he suddenly appeared (having crossed unperceived to the right bank of the river, and marched by a circuitous course) before the outposts of the allies. The officer who was in command did his best to resist the sudden attack, but was soon forced to retreat over the Guadiana. The marshal was then able to relieve the hard pressed garrison, and to threaten the besiegers from a strong position he took up near the river. The loss by the gallant French Huguenot General Lord Galway of the direction of the siege had been fatal. Fagel was in the first place only half-hearted in the work, and had not the dash of any of his fellow commanders. He made a feeble attempt to dislodge De Tesse, opening out his Artillery into the French camp, and leading the allies over the river. De Tesse, when pressed, retired leisurely over the Chevora, losing some of his forces in crossing by the dash and pluck of Harvey's Horse, led by Wyndham.

Fagel was unable to force the French Marshal from the advantageous position he had taken up, and, being apprehensive of disaster, he returned to camp, strongly advising Das Minas to retreat. This, in the face of the position De Tesse had taken up, was no easy task if the Artillery was to be saved. The Marquis of Montandre was entrusted with this task, which he performed with signal ability. In order to deceive the enemy, the works covering the approaches to the town were continued, careful preparations were at the same time made to withdraw the guns and troops. Methuen, sending home an account of the events, writes that Montandre performed his task with "not only great bravery, but with so a good a disposition that, although the Marshal De Tesse with his Army drawn up watched all occasions to attack him, yet he brought every piece of artillery safe off."* By

* State Papers, Portugal, 1700-1705, No. 19.

the 16th, the Army was on its way to the Portuguese frontier. On the 19th they passed the Guadamará, and on the 20th, though De Tesse followed some distance in pursuit, they safely reached Elvas, going into their winter quarters there and in the neighbourhood. The unfortunate Galway, furious at the conduct of Fagel, which had ruined the enterprise, was carried with the retreating Army. His wound, aggravated by his state of mind, became serious, and his life trembled in the balance. He therefore, in order that he might be attended to, asked De Tesse for a pass to proceed to Olivença, which the noble Frenchman not only gave him, but also sent his best surgeons to attend to him.* In the State Papers, Spain, there is a long account of the measures that had been taken by De Tesse to protect Badajoz. In some letters of the French Marshal that were captured during the siege, he writes, "Milord Galway qui a eu le bras droit importé d'un coup de canon m'a envoyé demander un passeport pour se retirer a Elvas," and he goes on to say that he hopes this defeat of the allies, will finish the campaign on this side.† The Minister Hedges had heard, through Paris, of the calamity that had befallen Lord Galway, and wrote on the 10th November (N.S.), to Methuen, desiring him to send instant information of the state of the gallant soldier, the Queen being much concerned for him, and anxious as to the success of his arms, "since his Lordship was the spring and life of that enterprise."‡

While these events were happening with the Army in which the regiment was serving, the expedition under the Earl of Peterborough had not been idle. Sir Cloudesley Shovel had been appointed to the command of the Fleet with the expedition, with Sir Stafford Fairborne as his second in command. Lord Peterborough had for his second in command Major-General Henry Cunningham. The brigadiers were Earl of Donegal, Viscount Charlemont, Richard George, James Stanhope, and Viscount Shannon. The united strength of the Fleet, Dutch and English, was sixty-six sail of the line, and eleven bomb vessels. The land forces consisted of three English regiments, River's (now sixth), Elliott's, and John Caulfield's; three Irish, Hamilton's (now 34th), Charlemont's, and George's; and two Dutch regiments. The total strength being 6,500 men.

The Fleet sailed on 4th June and arrived at Lisbon on the 20th. The Prince of Darmstadt was at once summoned from Gibraltar to assist at a grand conference, which was held on

* Parnell, p. 105.

† State Papers, Spain, 1700-1715, No. 132.

‡ Secretary's Letter Book, 1705-1706, No. 25.

the 12th July. King Charles and all the chief officers, including the Earls of Galway and Peterborough, were also present. Darmstadt moved that the original plan that had been decided upon should be adhered to, viz., an expedition to Catalonia, and though some were in favour of another attempt on Cadiz, the prince carried his views, and it was decided to proceed to Barcelona.

By the 28th July, all being in readiness, they sailed on that day for Gibraltar, where it had been resolved to take on board the Guards, Barrymore's, Donegal's, and Montjoy's regiments, and the English Marines, in all 3,200 men. King Charles of Spain arrived at Gibraltar on the 2nd August to go with the expedition. Mr. Paul Methuen also went as envoy of Queen Anne.* Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the rest of the Fleet, passing the Straits for Gibraltar on the 3rd. By the 5th all the Marines and the five regiments had been embarked, Elliot and Caulfield's regiment of recruits being left to guard the fortress. The Prince of Darmstadt took the direction of the expedition. On the evening of the 5th, all things being ready, the Fleet sailed, and after a short stay at Denia, which place submitted to the Prince (the Catalans showing plainly their sympathy with their former governor, and the cause he was championing). On the 16th they left Denia for Barcelona. By the 22nd Sir Cloudesley Shovel with the fleet had arrived off the coast, anchoring three miles from the town. Troops were immediately landed and a position taken up near the village of St. Martin, about a mile to the north-east of Barcelona.

The defences of Barcelona consisted principally of a stout wall flanked by bastions and small towers, protected also by a ditch of moderate depth and a low glacis. A small fort, Montjuic, was placed on a hill about 700 feet high, about 1,100 yards from the south-west wall of the fortress.

Peterborough was strongly opposed to the siege of Barcelona and counselled an expedition to Italy, or a march along the canal to Valencia, from whence he argued they would be able to advance on Madrid in the spring. Several councils had been, as already stated, held, and heated discussions took place, but at last it was decided to make the attempt to capture Barcelona. Peterborough strove by all the means in his power to prevent the siege, but King Charles considered it a point of honour not to desert the Catalans, who had, at the hazard of their lives, declared for him. Though

* Parnell, pp. 113-116, and State Papers, Portugal, 1700-1705, No. 19.

Parnell gives the day of sailing as 24th, Methuen's letter to Hedges gives 28th.

the Queen's regiment was not engaged in this memorable siege, which cost the life of so many gallant soldiers, and, also the life of the intrepid and capable Darmstadt, a short account is given to complete the account of the war. The Prince, finding that nothing would induce Peterborough to make the attack, although the engineers, Petit and Richards, had reported that it was perfectly feasible, determined, if the Earl would furnish English troops, to attempt to surprise the fortress of Montjuic, which dominated the place and which he had learnt by his spies was ill guarded. Peterborough at last agreed to this, on condition that if it failed the Prince would himself agree to any proposals afterwards made by Peterborough.

The Prince made the most careful preparations for the enterprise, and at three p.m. on the afternoon of Sunday, the 13th September, the troops destined for the assault paraded outside the Prince's quarters. These consisted of 400 English and Irish Grenadiers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Southwell, of Rivers' regiment (also the Prince's old regiment), supported by 600 Musketeers (400 of them English), under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Allen, of George's regiment. The reserves were 300 Dragoons and 1,000 Foot, under Brigadier-General Stanhope. A small train accompanied the advanced party with scaling ladders and spare ammunition. The whole force was under the command of Lord Charlemont.

The design of the attack necessitated a long march of twelve miles. The Prince had arranged that the force should be in position before the fort at daylight, but the night was so dark that at broad daylight only 800 of his forces had reached the place. No time was, however, lost, and Southwell and his Grenadiers advancing soon drove the enemy out of their outworks into the fort. A great misfortune now threatened them. The scaling ladders were found to be too short, and the gallant band had to retire behind the earthworks. By this time Velasco, the governor of Barcelona, having heard the firing, had sent a party to strengthen the garrison at the fort, and who reached a small work about half way to the fort just as the Prince retired for want of the scaling ladders. Darmstadt saw at once that this outwork must be captured, in order to cut off the fort from the fortress. He therefore decided to capture it. In the advance they were exposed to a galling fire from Montjuic, a shot from which struck the Prince in the right thigh, piercing an artery close to an old wound. Undaunted he struggled on, but soon fainted from loss of blood, and was carried into a house near a convent of the Capuchins, and before aid could be procured his gallant soul had fled.

The death of the Prince paralysed the attack, and by a clever manœuvre the governor of the fort was forcing back the English, when they were met and reinforced by Peterborough and his staff, who rallied the retreating troops, and, Stanhope with the reserves coming up, St. Bertram (so the work was named) was captured. Next day the guns directed by Colonel Richards from the fort soon brought the garrison in Montjuic to terms, fifteen officers and 290 men surrendering as prisoners of war.

It was not long after the capture of Montjuic, that Barcelona itself fell. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, as soon as he heard of the fall of the fort, directed Admiral Fairborne to shell Barcelona. On the 15th the bombardment from the Fleet commenced, and the next day 2,500 English and 680 Dutch seamen were landed on the beach, formed into companies and battalions under their own officers. The engineers, Richards and Petit, ably directed the efforts of the seamen. By the 28th fifty-eight guns were pounding away from the seamen's batteries, and on the 3rd October a large breach was made, and a storming party was being formed, when the fortress capitulated. Velasco, the governor, stipulating for the garrison to march out with the honours of war. The citizens—who were much in favour of the allies—on the day of the capitulation and before it could be completed, broke out of all bounds, attacked the Bourbon troops, and opened the gates to the victorious besiegers. Velasco had to be protected by the allies. Out of his 4,000 troops only 1,800 elected to go with the governor to Malaga, the remainder joining their countrymen on the side of the allies.

A most interesting book, entitled "An Impartial Enquiry into the Causes of the War in Spain," gives full particulars of the general conduct of the affairs in Spain and of the siege of Barcelona. The following short resumé of the events as there stated may not be without interest, particularly as it shows clearly the determined opposition that the Earl of Peterborough made to the siege; some further details are also given in the book which throws a light on the conduct of the war. The Spanish provinces of Arragon and Castile, though united into one Kingdom under Ferdinand and Isabella, had not become one in sentiment, and on the commencement of the War of Succession had taken separate sides, the Castillians going with the French and the people of Arragon entering warmly into the interests of the Austrian Duke and his allies. Arragon contained, besides its own ancient Kingdom, not unknown in English history, the province of Valencia and the principality of Catalonia. The latter principality seeming to incline to the French, the Queen sent Mr. Mitford Crow, who had great interest in the State, to endeavour

to win over the principal nobles and gentlemen to the side of the allies, giving him full power to treat and to make engagements on the part of Her Majesty the British Queen. In the State Papers, Spain, there are also some letters from Crow giving particulars of the siege of Barcelona and the death of the gallant Darmstadt. In the same volume of the State Papers are some rather curious letters from the Spanish Councillors and from the Junta of the Military Arm of Catalonia to Queen Anne, referring to the "quantity, number, and goodness of the troops, which have acted with singular regularity, punctuality, and obedience, and inimitable valour."* The letters from the Prince of Hesse and Sir Cloudesley Shovel give many interesting particulars of the Earl of Peterborough's opposition to the siege of Barcelona. Peterborough laid great stress upon the fact of requiring, if the attempt was made, 5,000 men on duty every day, and of the Army, consisting of only 7,000 Foot, (inclusive of 1,100 Marines,) being only able to furnish half the number required. He also asked for a large contingent of seamen, and of the fifty-two battering rams promised by the Fleet, which he urged should be sent furnished with gunners and men to serve with them. A council was held on board H.M. Ship *Britannia* on 27th August, to consider the requirements of the Earl, and it was decided to send "out of Her Majesty's ships five and twenty hundred armed men, including those belonging to the Fleet already ashore, which would reduce the Fleet under their middle complement besides the misfortune of the sick men of the Fleet." The Dutch Flag officers agreed also to send 600 armed men. The Prince of Hesse continually advised the King of Spain to press the siege of Barcelona. He wrote on 10th February to Sir Cloudesley Shovel, explaining the different views of himself and the Earl, informing him that in case they were compelled to give up the siege and carry out the alternative plans of Peterborough and march to Tarragona and Torlosa, he would like the Fleet to take possession of Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica. The King of Spain, hard pressed by Peterborough, on the 10th September, wrote a curt note to the Earl accepting the offer of his alternative, the note being signed by himself and the Prince. A long and interesting letter of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, also dated 10th September, gives a capital account of affairs up to the taking of Barcelona, showing plainly the strong objection that Peterborough had to the siege, and giving particulars of the various councils of war held on the subject. In his letter he relates the taking of Denia, "a walled town with

* State Papers, Spain, 1700-1715, No. 132.

a castle upon an hill, of about twenty guns," by Captain Loads with the Oxford and three or four ships. The Prince of Hesse, when the Fleet left Atlea on the 5th August, went on board the Dursley, and with two small frigates in company sailed to the coast of Catalonia, to see as to their disposition in favour towards the allies. Denia soon submitted to the summons to surrender, and Major-General Ramos Basset was sent on shore to take possession in the name of the King. The general Fleet then set sail for Barce'ona, arriving there on the 11th August (O.S.). Next day, (Sunday) 12th, the troops landed from the Fleet "not so much as a musket fired to interrupt," the admiral sending ashore 1,150 Marines to assist. After the continued opposition of the Earl of Peterborough to the siege, and after having almost forced the King to abandon it, the Prince of Hesse at last, as already related, induced him to attack Montjuic, and a magazine of the enemy blowing up, all the outworks were carried, the brave Prince of Hesse falling. Now the Earl of Peterborough acquainted the admiral on the 4th, "that if anything made it possible to take the town of Barcelona" it should be done at once, and requested all the succour from the Fleet, which was at once given. On the 17th October the Fleet's "great battery" of 17 guns, which had been erected on land, began to play on that part of the wall of the town it had been decided to breach, and the fire began to take effect, the Fleet at the same time keeping up a continual bombardment from the sea. The total guns landed from the Fleet for the bombardment are given in this account as seventy-two, thirty being 24-pounders. On the 23rd, the breach being practicable, all things were prepared at night for an attack, when, upon the town being surrounded, they desired to capitulate, the exchanged hostages being Brigadier Stanhope and the Marquis de Rivera. Tarragona having been reported on the 26th ready to surrender upon a show of bombarding it, Captain Cavendish was sent on the *Antelope* with frigates and bomb vessels and summoned the town to surrender. Upon their refusing he fired some guns and bombs into the town, when they at once hung out a flag of truce, two magistrates coming on board to say they had secured the governor and place for King Charles. A captain and six hundred Miguelets then entered the town.

During the siege of Barcelona, by the joint efforts of Count Cifuentes and Joseph Nebot, aided by a detachment of the Fleet under Captain Cavendish, the whole of Catalonia was subdued, the results fully bearing out the wisdom of the gallant Prince of Hesse and the sagacity of King Charles in resisting the efforts of the Earl of Peterborough to take the troops to Italy.

At the close of the siege the Fleet, under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, returned to England. Sir John Leake and the Dutch Admiral Wassenaer remaining in Lisbon, Stanhope, Shannon, and Norris were sent to England with the news of the capture. The latter officer was knighted by the Queen. Stanhope was sent back to Spain as ambassador.

Before the end of the year the cause of King Charles was further helped by the capture of the important province of Valencia. This conquest, in spite of the able resistance of the French General De Tilly and the Spaniard De las Torres, was a brilliant series of victories. One of the striking events of the campaign in Valencia was the splendid defence of the town of San Mateo, by Lieutenant-Colonel John Jones, a major in Barrymore's regiment, against a powerful force under De las Torres. Jones successfully sustained a siege of thirteen days. At the end of that time Lord Peterborough and Killigrew marched in to his relief. The fall of the capital Valencia, soon after completed the reduction of the province.

The distressing and disastrous arrangement of changing commanders had, at the earnest request of the Queen of England, been put an end to in August. Hedges wrote in that month to Galway, informing him that the States had agreed to his having the sole command, and that General Fagel had been recalled home.

Hedges' letters during the remainder of the year were mainly taken up with details of the efforts made in every quarter to stir up the Portuguese, in order to make them take a more active part in the campaign. He also wrote fully upon the necessity of proper government and protection of Gibraltar.

The death of the gallant Darmstadt, who had done so much for the fortress, was a great blow to all, and it was felt that a powerful personality had been lost to the cause.

In the establishment books of this year is an estimate of the charges of the forces in Portugal for the whole year, which is here stated as 222,379*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* In these books the charge per annum for the regiment is given as 15,512*l.** In the Journals of the House of Commons the figures are a little different, being as follows:—Total number of forces in Portugal, 10,210, Horse and Foot. Total charge 214,610*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* The quota of the regiment was same as before, 876 men and officers.†

In November Mr. Mitford Crowe wrote to Hedges complaining of the great inconveniences suffered by the Queen's troops for want of money. In another letter dated 20th November (N.S.), he writes

* War Office, Establishment Book, 1701-1704, No. 844.

† Journals of the House of Commons, 1705-1708, Vol. 15.

that the country is drained of money, and that none is to be raised "on any credit." Later on he sends particulars of the conferences which had been held at the instance of Lord Peterborough. Peterborough had proposed to garrison Gerona, and urged that 2,700 troops should be sent to Lerida and 1,000 to Tortosa, and though at first King Charles and his advisers disagreed with him, Peterborough's advice was followed, and the forces were distributed amongst the various fortresses in Catalonia. In one of his letters Mitford Crowe writes quaintly enough, referring to a ceremony in which King Charles took part, "I could not without the greatest pleasure reflect on the glory of Her Majesty's arms when I saw His Royal Person guarded on the throne by two English Grenadiers."* At the end of his note he again begs for means to be sent, the want of which, he writes, was seriously crippling the expedition.

On the last day of the year the Dowager Queen Catherine, with whose history the early services of this regiment were connected, and from whom its original titles and distinctions were derived, died at Lisbon. The Dowager Queen had been acting as Queen Regent during the summer, while her brother the King was with the allied Army, and had shown by her actions how strongly she was attached to the country of her adoption, and to the regiment raised to protect the possessions she had brought to the King as her wedding dowry.

* State Papers, Spain, 1700-1707, No. 131.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONTINUATION OF WAR IN SPAIN. KING CHARLES AT MADRID.

1706.

CONTENTS.—Colonels in Portugal complain of want of Clothing—Account of Clothing sent—The Fight at San Estevan—King Louis determines to attempt to recapture Barcelona—Strength of the Allies—They arrive at Membrillo—Toulouse, with the French Fleet, arrives at Barcelona—De Tesse arrives at Barcelona—Strength of the besieging Army—Commencement of the Siege—Montjuic falls—Leake sails from home with reinforcements for Barcelona—Arrives at Gibraltar and is joined by the Portsmouth Squadron—Peterborough changes his tactics—Leake with reinforcements arrives at Barcelona—Siege raised—French losses during the Siege—Portuguese induced to begin the Campaign—The Allies leave Elvas and camp at Caya—Berwick at Brocas, near Alcantara—Strength of the opposing Forces—Fight at Brocas—Duke of Berwick narrowly escapes capture—Allies march to Alcantara—Capture of the Convent of St. Francis by the Queen's and Colonel Blood's Regiments—Capitulation of Alcantara—Capture of Moraleja—Coria taken—The Allies pass the Bridge at Almaraz—Berwick at Placentia—Retreats on advance of the Allies—Allies arrive at Mazagona—Difficulty with the Portuguese—Galway retires to Coria—Ciudad Rodrigo captured—Allies march to Salamanca—Methuen sees the King of Portugal with respect to the indecision of the Portuguese Troops—Berwick strongly posted on the Guadarama—Das Minas arrives at Epinal—Galway receives submission of Deputies at Segovia—Galway receives submission of deputies from Escorial—King Phillip leaves Madrid and joins Berwick—Galway arrives at Madrid—Submission of the Capital—Galway and Das Minas triumphantly enter Madrid—Proclamation of King Charles—Lord Peterborough's Forces—His double dealing—King Charles starts for Madrid—Joins Galway at Guadalaxara—Berwick cuts off Galway from Madrid—Madrid declares for King Phillip—Galway resolves to retreat through Valencia—Halts at Chinchon on the Tajuna—Arrival at Badajoz—Berwick threatens passage of River Gabriel—Galway's resolute attitude deters him—Berwick abandons pursuit—Galway gains Valencia and goes into Winter Quarters—Sends home Marquis Montandre with account of Campaign and Plans for the next—Berwick captures Cuenca and Carthagea—Loss of Alcantara—Capture of Alicante by Sir John Leake—Lord Rivers sent out with Reinforcements, including six Huguenot Regiments under General the Marquis Guiscard—Sir Cloudesley Shovel commands the Fleet with Troops—Arrives at Lisbon—Fleet afterwards sent to join Galway at Valencia—Galway urged to retain the command—Death of Methuen—Queen displeased with Lord Peterborough.

At the end of last year urgent letters were sent home by the English Colonels of the regiments in Portugal, complaining that they were badly off for clothing. The authorities at once made preparations to supply this urgent want, and on the 10th December advice was sent of the despatch of 20,000 sets of soldiers' clothing, consisting of stockings, shoes, shirts, hats, and cravats; also complete clothing for 4,000 Foot and 1,000 Dragoons "for such Spaniards as shall take part with King Charles." A book called the Soldiers Monitor, giving full instructions as to his duties, was published and furnished to all the Queen's forces.

A meeting of the general officers of the Army was held on the 4th February in the great room of the Horse Guards, on the subject of the clothing of the Army. Amongst other proposals was one "that the quantity and quality of clothing for the Foot should be as follows, viz. :—For the first year a good cloth coat well lined, which may serve for the waistcoat the second year. A pair of good thick Kersey breeches, a pair of good strong stockings, a pair of good strong shoes, a good shirt and a neck cloth, and a good strong hat well laced. For the second year a good cloth coat well lined as in the first year, a waistcoat made of the former year's coat, a pair of good strong Kersey new breeches, a pair of good strong stockings, a pair of good strong shoes, a good shirt and a neck cloth, and a good strong hat, well laced. That all accoutrements, as swords, belts, patronashes? and drum carriages be made as good as they are wanted. That the recruits be supplied with a new waistcoat, and one shirt and one neck cloth more than the old soldiers, who have some linen beforehand, and a former year's coat to make a waistcoat. That the sergeants and drummers be clothed after the same manner, but everything in its kind better in proportion to the off reckonings they have to answer it (*sic*). That the new raised regiments be clothed full as the recruits the first year, and by degrees brought upon the same foot with the old regiments, and as the general officers before appointed are directed to regulate the clothing according to the circumstances of the regiments, being in debt or not, so they are likewise to have regard to the nature of the payments, &c., &c. And lastly, the said general officers do return their thanks to the Duke of Marlborough for directing the complaints concerning the clothing of the Army to be laid before them, thereby giving them an opportunity of distinguishing between such colonels as have had a regard to the Queen's service and their own regulations and those who have acted contrary to both, and further, they hope that the method herein

proposed will effectually prevent any future abuse and take away all reason of complaint."* Later on, on 14th January 1708, an order with full instructions was issued in conformity with the above, which is contained in eleven articles.†

At the beginning of the year Crowe wrote home from Barcelona, giving a very gloomy account of the necessities of the Army. "The Queen's troops," he writes, "have not above fourteen days' subsistence at 18 pence per man per week." The country round was said also to be quite exhausted.

The French King was much distressed at the loss of Barcelona, and of the adhesion of the Catalans to the cause of the allies, and he determined to make all efforts to recover the place. A strong force was got together and placed under the command of De Tesse. A Fleet was also fitted up at Toulon and placed under the commands of Toulouse and d'Estrées. After conferring with the Anjou Prince at Madrid De Tesse marched to Saragossa, and then on to Pina, his design being to cut the communications of the allies between Valencia and Catalonia, and after capturing the strong places of Tortosa, Lerida, and Gerona to besiege Barcelona. Mitford Crowe, writing home about this time, criticises rather severely the actions of the allies. He writes "that if the marshal besieges Tortosa, he will cut off communication between the Army and Barcelona."‡

The first skirmish of the French Commander was against the English troops under the command of Cunningham, who had been sent to garrison Lerida. The forces met at San Estevan de Litera, and a gallant and well contested fight took place, between D'Asfeld, commanding the French, and Cunningham, resulting in a victory to the allies, with, however, the heavy loss (in addition to about 150 men exclusive of officers) of the brave leader Cunningham. King Louis now determined, in spite of the advice of de Tesse, to march straight to Barcelona, and, helped by his Fleet, which was to await him there, to at once commence the siege. Peterborough, in furtherance of his plans, had withdrawn over 5,000 regular troops from Catalonia. The plan of the French King was therefore rendered more easy of accomplishment. The Count de las Torres, writing on the 13th April to Madrid, informs his correspondent that Lord Peterborough had marched

* War Office, Miscellany Book, 1704-1712, Vol. 519a.

† Ibid.

‡ State Papers, Spain, 1700-1715, No. 132.

with the most part of his troops by land, *vid* Tortosa, with the evident intention of joining the Archduke of Austria, and further writes that Peterborough had only left 700 Foot and 300 Horse in the province of Valentia.

The campaign opened on the 30th March, the allied Army marching on that day to Salvador. On the 2nd April they were at Majorca, and on the 3rd, at St. Vincento. The Army consisted of five English regiments, including the "Queen's," twenty-six Portuguese, and four Dutch battalions, and thirty-six Portuguese squadrons. The other troops were, two English and four Dutch squadrons of Cavalry, with 3,600 Portuguese Horse, twenty-four heavy guns, and 15 field ordnance. On the 4th April the Army was at Membrillo.

Toulouse, with the French Fleet, numbering twenty-eight sail of the line, eight frigates, ten galleys, five bomb vessels, and 184 transports, carrying a large siege train and ammunition, arrived at Barcelona on 1st April. De Tesse, who had been considerably harassed, in crossing the mountains, by the Spanish leader, Cifuentes, at last reached Barcelona, and was there joined by General Legal, from Roussillon. Thus far the plans of the French had been successful, and a powerful sea and land force was in front of the Catalonian stronghold. The united strength of the besieging Army was estimated at some 21,000 men, and nearly the whole were French veteran soldiers. Two very capable engineers, De la Para and Renaud, directed the operations; the former was before Barcelona in 1697, the latter was the officer who had designed the siege at Gibraltar. The Prince of Anjou, or, as he was now called, King Phillip, accompanied the force, and had his quarters at Serja, at which place, on the 5th, he had a narrow escape of falling into the hands of the enterprising Cifuentes, who kept the garrison in heart, and the besiegers constantly harassed.

The two rival Kings were now in front of each other. King Phillip, after his escape from Cifuentes, remained on board the French flag ship. The garrison had received a welcome reinforcement of four battalions from Gerona, under the command of Donegal, who cleverly managed to creep along the coast, and elude Toulouse's Fleet.

The governor of Barcelona was a German, Count Uhlfeldt, and his force now amounted to 1,100 English, 1,100 Spanish, 900 Dutch, 1,500 Miguelets, and 500 Neapolitans, besides 500 patriotic Barceionians, who had enrolled themselves under his banner. The engineer was the capable and gallant Colonel Petit.

On the 21st, in spite of the superhuman efforts, Montjuic fell into the hands of the besiegers. The English Guards, under Russel, who was taken prisoner, defended the place most heroically. Lord Donegal, "fighting like a lion in the thickest of the enemy," died a soldier's death. Offered, but disdaining to accept quarter, he fell surrounded by the bodies of the French Grenadiers he had slain with his own hand.*

The same day, 21st April, Killigrew, with Lord Peterborough and 600 English and Spanish Dragoons, who had posted from Tarragona, arrived at the camp of Cifuentes. King Charles, as soon as he heard of Peterborough's arrival in front of Barcelona, urged him to fight his way in, but, as usual, he shielded himself from making the attempt behind a council of war. Prince Henry of Darmstadt, however, who was with the Neapolitans, fought his way in, and was of great assistance to Uhlfeldt. Substantial help was, however, now at hand. The Government at home, on the arrival of the news that all Catalonia were won over to the allies, at once decided to send help. Before the end of February, the Fleet, under the grand old sailor Sir John Leake, had sailed from Plymouth with nearly 5,000 fresh English troops. Leake's Fleet consisted of twenty-one sail of the line and twelve frigates. Sir George Byng sailed with another squadron from Portsmouth.

On the 10th April Leake arrived at Gibraltar, where he was joined by the Portsmouth Squadron. He had heard of the siege of Barcelona while at sea, and had also received orders from Peterborough to land his troops at Grao, Denia, or Atlea, for "a march to Madrid," and then to proceed to fight Toulouse. At Gibraltar he received a despatch from King Charles, earnestly pressing him to bring his reinforcements at once to the relief of Barcelona. Again and again he received orders first from the King and then from Peterborough, the latter ordering him to land part of the troops at Valentia, and the rest at Tortosa, and going so far, in order to ensure obedience to his orders, to enclose a copy of his, Peterborough's, commission as admiral. Leake, however, who rightly gauged the situation, determined to make the best of his way to Barcelona. On the 29th he was at Atlea, and, contrary winds detaining him, he was joined on the 3rd May by Walker and the Irish troops, his force now consisting of thirty-nine English and thirteen Dutch, besides frigates and transports.

* Parnell, p. 159.

Peterborough still plied Leake with contradictory orders, but, finding the admiral had determined to go with all his force to Barcelona, he changed his tactics, and in a despatch he urged Leake to throw 1,000 men into the fortress, or all would be lost. A last despatch informed Leake that he, Peterborough, was at Litges, and would join him, and, under his protection, land troops he had collected for the relief of Barcelona.

On joining Leake, Peterborough actually hoisted his flag as admiral on board Leake's ship, in order to appear as the saviour of Barcelona, though, had his instructions been obeyed by the admiral, the place most likely would have been lost to the cause. As the Fleet approached the beleaguered fortress, Leake gave orders that each ship was to "press forward independently to attack the French ships." The Frenchman had, however, been too quick for him. A fast Genoese tartan, who had been on the look out, brought news to the French Fleet in time for them to slip out, and when Byng, with some of the fastest ships, sailed into the bay on the morning of the 5th, there was no Fleet to interrupt the peaceful landing of the troops. At 2 p.m. Leake arrived with the rest of the Fleet, and the troops were at once landed.

For a few days the French Marshal kept up a show of continuing the siege, but it was only to make effective arrangements for a safe retreat. The allies quite expected an assault through a wide breach that had been made. De Tesse, in his retreat towards Perpignan, was incessantly harassed by the active and enterprising Cifuentes, who followed him for eight days, till on the 23rd he reached the frontier. The French losses during the thirty-five days of the siege and the days following, in the retreat, are stated to have been 6,000 men, while the losses of the allies were not more than 1,000.* In a letter of Colonel Richards, dated 12th May, in which the engineer gives particulars of the raising of the siege, he writes, "They (the French) broke up in the night in the most shamefull manner that ever an Army quitted a siege, having left behind them near 200 brass battering guns, a vast quantity of bombs and shot, 10,000 stucks (sacks) of corn, and above 300 barrells of powder, and the sick and wounded, which in a pitifull manner the Marshal de Tesse recommended" to their friends and not their enemies.*

The splendid victory of Marlborough at Ramilles at this period was a great blow to the French. The two events were celebrated in England with great rejoicing.

* State Papers, Spain, 1706, No. 135.

In the meantime, the greatest efforts had been made by the officials in Lisbon to galvanise the Portuguese into some activity. Stanhope had arrived at Lisbon on 10th March (o.s.). He seems to have been much impressed with the efforts of Lord Peterborough to hold Valencia, and in writing home he expresses a fervent hope that the Irish troops may arrive soon at Valencia, so that Peterborough may be encouraged to preserve "what he has kept hitherto almost miraculously."* Stanhope's energetic action in Lisbon, coupled with Lord Galway's urgent appeals, at last overcame the objection of the Portuguese to commence the campaign, and it was decided to begin by entering the Estramadura.

Methuen had, before the arrival of Stanhope, been most actively engaged in combatting the disinclination of the Portuguese King to begin the campaign. He had presented a memorial to the King, in which he strongly advocated instant action against Alcantara. This place once taken, the Army might advance securely to Placentia, covered by the Tagus always on their right. A good detachment of choice troops, he writes, might then march as far as Madrid without apprehending danger, having always, at most, their retreat secure to Placentia.† The Portuguese Generals, however, were more in favour of besieging Badajos, which Methuen rightly calculated would be the ruin of the campaign. A despatch had been sent from Galway to Methuen on the 26th March (N.S.), with the good news that he had at last commenced his march from Elvas, and was now encamped at Caya, waiting for his baggage to come up. Parnell gives the date of the allies leaving Elvas as the 31st.

The Duke of Berwick had evidently concluded that the first attack of the allies would be upon Badajos, and had left eight battalions to garrison that place, sending the same number of battalions to Alcantara, making the strength in the latter place ten battalions. Berwick himself took up his quarters at a place called Brocas, about twelve miles from Alcantara. He had with him 4,000 Horse, and a strong reinforcement of thirteen squadrons, the whole being under the command of Major-Generals Fiennes and Geoffreville.

The forces that were now about to be matched against each other in Galway's ever memorable and triumphant march to Madrid were as follows:—

* State Papers, Spain, 1706, No. 135.

† State Papers, Portugal, No. 24.

The allies had with them 19,000 troops. The English force was 200 men of Harvey's Horse, and 2,000 Foot, comprised of the regiments of Lord Portmore (the "Queen's"), Colonels Stuart's, Blood's, Wade's (late Duncanson's), and Brudenell's. The English Artillery was ten field pieces. The Dutch had four squadrons and 2,000 Foot, and the Portuguese had with them 3,600 Horsemen and 11,100 Foot. Their Artillery consisted of eight light guns and twenty-four heavy ones.* Das Minas was in supreme command, but the intrepid Galway was the moving spirit, and in reality conducted the campaign. Galway had as his second in command the gallant General Sir Charles O'Hara.

The Duke of Berwick's force altogether consisted of forty-seven squadrons of Horse and twenty-seven battalions of Foot, in all 15,300 men, all Spanish troops. He had, however, not being sure of the objective of the allies, weakened his defence by dividing his forces in the manner described.

The campaign may be said to have opened on 30th March, on which day the allies marched to Salvador. On the 2nd April they moved to Majorga, and on the 3rd to Vincento. The first brush with the enemy was at Brocas, at which place they arrived on 8th April. The French Marshal did not wait to be attacked, but at once retired with his main body, leaving a rear guard under Fiennes to cover his retreat. A smart Cavalry combat took place, in which both Das Minas and Galway took a part. The Frenchmen for a time stubbornly held their ground, but at last they retreated in disorder, with a loss of 100 killed and made prisoners. The London Gazette of the 14th April, in describing the action, informs its readers that the Earl of Galway marched to Membrillo on the 6th April (N.S.), and while halting sent a party to reconnoitre the passage of the River Salor. Here it was found that Berwick had destroyed the bridge. A ford was, however, found which enabled the Army to cross, the first line and all the Artillery passing the same night. As soon as the detachment, which consisted of 4,000 Horse and thirteen battalions of Foot and six field officers, which had been sent to Brocas, appeared on the plain, Berwick retreated through a thick wood towards Arroyo del Puerco. About three p.m. Das Minas and Galway with the Horse entered the wood, being supported by the Foot under the command of Major-General Lloyd, and on coming up to the rear

* MSS. British Army, Royal United Service Institution.

guard, they were soon smartly engaged. After a stubborn fight the French were beaten and driven back. Major-General Don Diego Monroy Conde di Camilleros, and some other officers, fifty troopers (besides 250 horses) being taken prisoners; the Duke of Berwick himself narrowly escaping capture. On the side of the allies, Major-General de St. Vincent was killed, and a few officers wounded. After the pursuit, the allies returned to Brocas (here called Asbrocas), and in the castle they found a quantity of provisions. A garrison of 300 Portuguese was left in the castle, the whole force of the allies marching on the 9th to Alcantara, at which place they all arrived the same day. Carles, the famous Huguenot engineer, at once set to work on the left bank of the Tagus, opened trenches, and planted a battery of thirteen guns. The town of Alcantara lies at the junction of the Tagus and the Alagon. On the 10th, the convent of St. Francis, which was outside the town, and which the enemy had converted into an outlying fort to hinder the approaches of the allies, was attacked.

The force in this action consisted of the Queen's regiment and Colonel Blood's, with Colonel Wade's regiment in support. The troops advanced resolutely to the attack, and met with a severe resistance from the garrison. After a smart engagement the place was captured. The losses of the Queen's were one ensign (not named) wounded, and a few private men killed and wounded. Colonel Blood's and Colonel Wade's regiments lost more heavily. Of the former three captains were wounded; of the latter its gallant commander, his lieutenant-colonel, and one ensign were wounded, a captain killed, and several private men killed and wounded. After the capture, two Portuguese regiments were put in to garrison the convent. Next day the enemy made an attempt to retake the place, but some English regiments marched up so quickly to the help of the garrison that they were unable to effect their design.

By the 13th all the batteries of the besiegers were in position, and began to batter the enemy's defences round Alcantara. In a short time their cannon were all silenced, and their works reduced to such a state of ruin that a parley was demanded. Hostages being exchanged, Count de Tarocco was sent by Das Minas to arrange the terms of capitulation. On the side of the allies the hostages were Colonel Stewart and a Portuguese Colonel, two Spanish Colonels being sent from the town as hostages pending arrangements for the capitulation. The governor of Alcantara

was Major-General de Guasco. He asked that he should be allowed to march out with the honours of war; this was refused, and the siege recommenced. Another battery was now erected. A breach was soon made, and preparations made for a general assault. The governor was then finally summoned to surrender, and seeing that the defence was hopeless he capitulated, the garrison remaining prisoners of war. A large quantity of ammunition, arms, and provisions were taken, besides the important capture of the garrison, consisting of ten battalions, over 5,000 men, which was thus lost to the enemy for the whole of the campaign. These ten regiments were said to be "the flower of all the Foot in Spain," and were reported to be all the Duke of Anjou's Guards.* The plunder included, besides seventy guns and mortars, 5,000 muskets, 22,000 pounds of corn, 200 pipes of wine, 150 pipes of oil, and 12,000 suits of men's clothing.†

The capture of Alcantara was of great value to the allies, for it not only gave them stores and munitions of war, but considerably weakened the fighting strength of the enemy. The loss to Berwick being the whole of the eight battalions thrown in by him, besides the original garrison.

While resting at Alcantara after the capture, Galway offered to all Spanish generals, officers, and soldiers, that if they would leave the service of the Duke of Anjou, and return to the obedience of Charles III., that they should be given the same rank, honours, posts, and degrees that they then enjoyed. His offer does not appear to have been accepted.‡ After a short rest, the Army resumed their march, capturing Moraleja on the 21st, after a siege of two days. They then crossed the Tagus over the bridge at Alcantara, and encamped at Pedras Alvas. On the 23rd they captured Coria, a walled town on the Alagon, with large stores of corn. The people round here came in to submit. Berwick, crossing the river at Canaveral, and marching parallel with the allies, endeavoured to bar the road to Madrid by holding the bridge at Almarez. For this purpose he had drawn out a strong force from Badajos, consisting of eight battalions and seventeen guns. Little opposition was, however, made, and when the allies marched into the town they found the people favourable to their cause. The French Marshal now encamped at Placentia, and the allies marched on to attack him there. By the 28th they reached this

* State Papers, Portugal, No. 24.

† Parnell, p. 174.

‡ State Papers, Spain, 1706, No. 135.

important town, but only to find Berwick had gone, and had posted himself strongly on the River Tietar, at a place called La Venta Mazagona. Das Minas, on arriving at Placentia, decidedly refused to advance into Castile. He, however, agreed, on the strong remonstrances of Galway, that he would, if Berwick could be induced to meet him, fight him at Almarez, and hold that place. On the 1st May the advanced guard of the allies arrived at Mazagona, on which Berwick retreated to Casa Tejada. The Portuguese here made a gallant attack on the Spanish General. Forging the River Tietar, they resolutely drove the enemy out of their entrenchments, and pursued them for some distance. They passed Casa Tejada on the 3rd May, and on the 4th arrived at the bridge of Almarez. Berwick again, though firmly posted, retired from before Almarez.

On the 8th May Galway sent a despatch to Hedges from his camp at Almarez, giving him a full account of their progress up to that date. The large stores of provisions that he had captured on the way had, to his great regret, been mismanaged, so that instead of the great magazines they ought to have had, the stores had been wasted. The Portuguese still hesitated to advance, and it required all the skill and finesse the gallant old Huguenot, Galway, possessed, to hinder them from entirely wrecking the campaign. To endeavour to get a partial movement to the front, Galway proposed to Das Minas that he should send a detachment of his Horse and fifteen regiments of Foot and six field pieces to Talavera de la Reyna, where Berwick had gone, and that the remainder of the allies should remain where they were till sufficient provisions were stored up for a final forward movement. All was ineffectual. Methuen, writing home about this time, gave as his opinion that it would be "for the interest of England to break with Portugal than continue the war in this manner."*

Ultimately Galway was obliged to retire, and he again took up a position at Coria, where they remained till the 14th May. Galway had been forced to agree with Das Minas to besiege either Badajos or Ciudad Rodrigo, the latter being finally the place decided upon by Galway, as being nearer to Madrid than Badajos. Had Berwick been enterprising, a fatal blow might have been dealt at the retreating allies, dispirited as Galway and his troops were at the apparent collapse of their designs. The retreat began on the 11th May, and on the 20th they encamped at a place two miles from the town of Ciudad Rodrigo. The place was

* State Papers, Portugal, No. 24.

then invested, Carles the engineer soon having a battery of twelve guns playing on the walls. The town, which was surrounded by walls of little strength, was soon breached by the guns of the allies and a storming party prepared. The garrison consisted of 400 regulars and about 3,000 militia. Finding resistance useless the governor capitulated. Berwick, on hearing of the loss of Ciudad Rodrigo, fell back on Salamanca.

On the 27th May Galway was able to inform Das Minas of the raising of the siege of Barcelona, and of the retreat of De Tesse, but he would not even then have been able to overcome the repugnance of the Portuguese to move forward, had he not with admirable forethought been keeping up a regular correspondence with the ambassador at Lisbon. This Minister had at last, by dint of remonstrances and threats of withdrawal of all English troops from Portugal, caused the King to send peremptory orders to Das Minas, to "act on all occasions in concert with Galway."* On the 3rd June the Army left Ciudad Rodrigo, with provisions for twenty-four days, and marched to Salamanca, which place was reached on the 27th. Berwick having left the town, Galway received the submission of the governor on the same day he arrived in front of it. The place was well supplied with provisions. A letter from Calway to Methuen, while on the march to Salamanca, informed the ambassador that he had heard the Portuguese did not intend to go further towards Madrid than Salamanca, and that if he found that so, he must ask leave to retire the Queen's troops to quarters near Lisbon, that they might be embarked.† On receipt of this note, Methuen again sought the King, who was very angry, and told Methuen it was done to menace him, and that he saw the ambassador had a mind to break the alliance. Further, unsatisfactory interviews took place between the King and his Ministers, by the light of which it is plainly seen, that had not the news been very favourable for an advance Das Minas would not have been allowed to go forward. All the letters of the Portuguese State Papers in the Record Office bear testimony to the untiring patience and skill of Galway and Methuen. Consul Milner, in a letter on the 19th June to Secretary Hedges, giving full account of the position of affairs, writes "Lord Galway is forced to make use of all his art to draw them insensibly on against their inclination."

* Parnell, p. 177.

† State Papers, Portugal, No. 24.

Berwick was now strongly posted at the passage of the Guadarama, from whence he might have made an effort to arrest the victorious march of the allies, had he had the heart to attempt it. On the 21st Das Minas wrote that the Army had arrived at Epinal, at the entrance of Puerto de Guadarama, twelve leagues from Madrid. They found that Berwick had again retreated, and had gone northwards towards Segovia in Old Castile, leaving the way open to Madrid. At Villa Carteri, which place they reached on the 17th June, they received the submission of deputies from Segovia, and on the 18th, when they reached Epinal, they received the submission of other delegates from the Escorial. Here they were met with the great news of Marlborough's victory at Ramilles.

On the 23rd the Army crossed the Sierra de Guadarama without the least resistance from Berwick, who had gone to Pardo, and had advised the Duke of Anjou and his Court to make good their escape from the capital. On the 22nd Phillip left Madrid with 3,300 Spanish Foot and joined Berwick, encamping the first night at Torrejon. He was here joined by Las Torres, with 4,300 men from Valencia. Berwick was now, with the addition of the troops from Almarez, almost equal in numbers to the force of Galway, having 13,800 against the latter's 14,000, and as the quality of his troops were of a much higher standard, he might well have challenged Galway; he, however, again retreated, and passed on to Alcala, on the Henares, about eighteen miles distant from the capital.

On the 24th Galway reached Nuestra Señora de Ratamal, from whence he sent forward a strong party to occupy Madrid. On the same day the alguazil, major, and three other officials arrived in camp and formally gave in the submission of the Spanish capital. On the 27th Galway and Das Minas triumphantly entered Madrid with the troops, and encamped on the Prado. On the 2nd July, after delays caused by officials of the city who were strongly in favour of the Bourbon Prince, King Charles III. was solemnly proclaimed King of Spain.

This remarkable feat of the brave Huguenot General was a triumph of unflinching determination, unwavering courage, with other qualities of conciliation and tact rarely found in a commander. It must be remembered, also, that he was prostrated by a late severe wound, ill with constitutional disease; and, further, he had not the advantage of commanding his own countrymen—but was, in fact, fighting against them. He was a rigid Protestant and had to fight with and humour bigotted Roman Catholics. In

the face of all these difficulties, he had dragged an unwilling ally 400 miles, had driven his enemy from post to post, captured 8,000 Spanish troops, 100 guns, and an immense quantity of stores, &c., and, after reducing the towns and garrisons on his march, had triumphantly entered the capital and proclaimed the Prince, whose cause he was championing, King of Spain. Lord Galway's magnificent services to his adopted country show how great a loss France sustained by exiling the best blood of her country on account of their religious convictions. It is difficult to estimate how much we owe in art, in arms, and in the industries introduced into this country by the Huguenots exiled from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; but amongst the names of the exiles that of Henry de Massue de Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, the gallant soldier and capable general and diplomatist, will ever shine in the first rank amongst the eminent Frenchmen who adopted this country when driven out of their own.* It was written of him by a French historian Benoit, when he was in France: "*C'etoit un jeune Seigneur de qui les belles qualités étoient connues de tout le monde. Il étoit bien fait de sa personne, d'un esprit doux, sage, éclairé; brave sans témérité, prudent sans basesse; agréable au Roi, aimé de tout le cour, bienvenu aupres des ministres.*"

We must now see what Lord Peterborough had done to help the campaign, while this daring and successful march was in progress. He had not been long in Valencia before he found it would be almost impossible to advance to Madrid through that province. In the State Papers, Spain, an estimate is

* This gallant gentleman was born on the 9th April 1648 at Charenton, and was the eldest son of the Marquis de Renneval et de Ruvigny, who was at one time ambassador at the Court of St. James. He saw his first service under the great Turenne, in wars in Germany against the country he afterwards served so well. His eminent qualities were recognised in his native country at an early age, for he was sent as a special envoy to England by King Louis in 1678, and was mainly instrumental, by his diplomatic skill (a skill afterwards so well exemplified in Spain), in arranging the treaty of Nymeguen. He entered the service of his adopted country in 1691 as major-general of Horse, and succeeded to the command of the Huguenot Regiment of Cavalry on the death of Schomberg at the Boyne, and from thence to his death he was a notable figure in English history. When his fighting days were over he served his adopted country well in other posts, and left an endearing mark in Ireland, where he was for four years Lord Lieutenant. During this time he founded a French university at Kilkenny, and built the greater part of the town of Portarlington. He died full of years and honours on 2nd September 1720.

given of the number of the troops in Valencia, which was as follows:—

Foot.							
English Guards	...	...	...	...	...	...	400 men.
Lord Mohun's Regiment	...	...	...	...	...	...	650 „
Brigadier George's Regiment	...	...	...	...	...	...	515 „
Colonel Alnutt's	„	...	...	...	...	...	464 „
Lord Mountjoy's	„	...	...	...	...	...	633 „
Colonel Allen's	„	...	...	...	...	...	569 „
Lord Dungannon's	„	...	...	...	...	...	647 „
Colonel Caulfield's	„	...	...	...	...	...	658 „
Colonel Southwell's	„	...	...	...	...	...	450 „
Spanish	„	...	...	...	...	...	1,000 „
German	„	...	...	...	...	...	450 „
Total							6,436 „

Horse.							
Queen Dowager's Regiment, Killigrew's, Pierces', and others not named							
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,500 „
Total Horse and Foot							7,936 „

The troops marching from Catalonia to Saragossa under General Noyelles were—

Foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,900
Horse	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	800
Total								3,700

Peterborough did not seem in a hurry to advance; he had divided the forces into four parties. The first, under the command of Wyndham, was sent to besiege some fortress in Castile; the second, under the command of George, was sent to operate against Alicante; the third, under the command of Alnutt, was to invade Murcia, Killigrew being left with his division in Valencia. King Charles had in the meantime gone to Saragossa from Barcelona, which place he left on 23rd, from whence he sent urgent letters to Peterborough to go at once to Guadalaxara with all his available forces. Peterborough had written to acquaint the King that he found himself unable to proceed through Valencia. This letter reached King Charles at Villa Franca while he was on the march. On receipt of the letter the King summoned a council

of war, at which were present the Prince of Lichtenstein, Generals Uhlfeld, Cifuentes, D'Assumar, and Stanhope, when it was decided, as the Arragonese were favourable to King Charles, to go to Saragossa.

It is impossible to acquit Peterborough of double dealing at this time. A careful perusal of the correspondence gives a most unfavourable aspect to his action. Certain it is, that though it was of the most vital consequence that he should have kept his forces together and have gone to the King's assistance, when he did start all he took with him was 400 Dragoons. In a letter of Stanhope's, dated 2nd July, to Hedges, giving a full account of the campaign, he writes strongly of the imperilling of the success of the war by the delay in the King's march to Madrid. Peterborough also complained of the delay of King Charles in Barcelona. There is no room to doubt that this delay completely destroyed the hopes of King Charles and his adherents, as the historian of the War of the Spanish Succession puts it, "the door to the throne which had been opened by Galway and Das Minas was completely closed."* The absence of King Charles had revived the hopes of the Castilians for the success of the Bourbon Prince. The other provinces also, Leon, New Castile, Toledo, and Salamanca, that had been won over to King Charles, now favoured the cause of Phillip. The French King, as soon as he heard of the raising of the siege of Barcelona and the retreat of De Tesse, sent off 12,000 Horse and Foot under General Legal to reinforce Berwick, and this general, at the head of over 25,000 men, was now in a position to press dangerously upon Galway.

It must have been with a sad and painful heart that Galway saw, that through the want of proper support, his efforts and the splendid success that had crowned them were to be entirely wasted. He had been busy establishing a civil government in Madrid in the interests of King Charles, at the same time not neglecting to see to his security in case he was obliged to retreat. In view of this, he had established a post in advance of the capital at a place called Guadalaxara, on the left bank of the Henares. It was an excellent defensive position, healthy, and abounded in food and forage. Berwick had fallen back to Xidrueque, where he was on the 28th, joined by Legal. His rear guard, under Fiennes, was strongly posted near him, on the Henares. Galway, on hearing that the King was at last on his way to join him, advanced nearer to Berwick in order to cover

* Parrell, p. 183.

the King's advance, but he soon found that his forces were insufficient. After an ineffectual attempt to seize the post that Fiennes held, hearing of the arrival of Berwick's reinforcements, he thought it prudent to retire to the strong position he had taken up at Guadalajara. Here, on the 6th August, the King joined him with a force of 2,000 men only, under the command of Noyelles. The troops from Valencia, comprising 800 men, arrived two days afterwards. Galway's strength, even with these reinforcements, amounted to only 15,000 men.

The superiority in numbers of the French Marshal's Army now enabled him to assume the offensive. His first move was to send forward Legal, with a strong force of Horse and Foot, to endeavour to cut off Galway's communications with Madrid. This he accomplished, capturing 400 Portuguese troops, who were bringing away the allied sick and wounded from the hospital in Madrid, and capturing also the pontoons and a portion of the baggage. An Austro-Spanish regiment that was in the palace defended themselves with much bravery, but were at last starved out. The town then declared for King Phillip, and the records of the short reign of King Charles were publicly destroyed.

Galway now began to see that his chance of regaining Madrid with the forces under his command was almost hopeless; further he was being daily weakened while his enemy was being strengthened. The road he had advanced from Portugal was also cut off for his retreat. It was therefore finally resolved that the retreat should be made through Valencia.

On the 11th August Galway quitted his camp at Guadalajara and marched to Chinchon, on the Tajuta. By this adroit move he not only got into a place where the supplies were abundant, but he was also marching to join hands with Wyndham, who had had some successes in Valencia and who was advancing to meet him.

Galway remained at Chinchon for twenty-six days, then commenced his retreat through Valencia. On the 15th they passed the Tagus, and on the 16th were at Badajos. On the 17th September they were joined at Veles by Wyndham, with the troops under Dungannon, Caulfield, and Pierce, and a detachment of Nebot's Horse. The route now taken was through Mancha, passing the Xucar at the bridge of Olebos, near Ververdo, and from thence to Montela and on to Perval, where they rested a few days. Berwick continuously harassed their retreat, and endeavoured to intercept the convoys advancing to them through Valencia, he only, however, succeeded in capturing one convoy, which consisted

of sixteen waggons and forty-two laden vessels, with a convoy of forty Horse, one hundred and fifty Foot, and two guns. A sharp and bloody fight took place, the troops guarding the convoy losing half their men killed before they surrendered. Berwick, who, with his immensely superior forces, might have anticipated the disaster of Almanza had he had half the skill and enterprise of Galway, only made one serious attempt to further interrupt the retreat. Galway, on the morning of the 25th September, was pushing for the bridge of Valdecara, near Ymesta on the River Gabriel (or Xalviel), when he heard that Berwick had decided to dispute the passage of the river. He at once halted and made preparations to receive the Frenchman, drawing up his forces in battle order behind a small rivulet which Berwick would have to cross in attacking him. The resolute appearance of the allied force completely disconcerted Berwick, and he declined the offered combat, Galway crossed the river in full view of his enemy, who now abandoned the pursuit and turned off into Murcia.

The Army by this time had been reduced to little over 12,000 men, and were badly in want of provisions. Galway had written in most pressing manner for supplies. At the end of September Milner had sent on 100,000 pieces of eight, Dom Pedro sending also money for his own troops. By the 28th Galway had gained the Valencian frontier, and lost no time in distributing his tired troops into their winter quarters. The line taken up extended from Requena, a short distance from the Valencian frontier, to Denia, on the coast.

This retreat of Galway was almost as memorable and as great a feat of arms as his march to Madrid, and, if we take into consideration the difficulties he had to contend with, his march through a country hostile to the cause he was fighting for, and with an Army under three separate commanders, each jealous of his direction, it is a marvel to find it was made with so little loss. Had Berwick possessed half the soldierly qualities of his opponent, the allied Army would never had escaped the net it had apparently fallen into. Also, it is open to doubt whether the cause of the Austrian would have had so disastrous a termination had he himself been more decisive in his movements and plans, and had the Portuguese given a more honest support to the cause.

Lord Galway, as soon as he had settled the Army in their winter quarters, sent home the Marquis de Montandre to give the Queen an account of the affairs in Spain. The Marquis was also instructed to acquaint the Queen with the sentiments and resolutions of the Court concerning the next campaign. Milner, in a letter

dated the 29th October, informed Secretary Hedges of the propositions Montandre had to make with regard to the Portuguese for next year, which, amongst a number of minor details, arranged for the supply of 3,000 Horse and 9,000 to 10,000 Foot.

The Queen's regiment had the honour of forming part of the forces that Lord Galway led with such skill and audacity from Portugal to the Spanish capital, and when the irresolution and delay of King Charles, and the want of unanimity and cohesion in the allied forces, made it necessary for the Army to retreat to Valencia, it remained part of that Army until they took up their winter quarters. It is not too much to say, that had Lord Galway been as ably seconded by King Charles and Dom Pedro and his troops as he had been by the English regiments, it is quite within the range of possibilities that the war would have ended favourably for the allies, and the crowning disaster of next year, when Berwick crushed the allies at Almanza, might have been averted.

The war flickered in various spots until the end of the year, and with varying fortunes. Cuenca, which Wyndham had taken, fell again into the hands of Berwick, with its garrison of four regiments. Alicante was taken by the Fleet under Sir John Leake, after a gallant defence by the heroic General Mahony (an Irish gentleman). Carthagea fell to Berwick after a brave defence by the Spanish General Valero, and on the Portuguese frontier, besides other places, the allies lost the important port of Alcantara, which was captured in December by the Marquis de Bay.

There is an interesting letter from the Earl of Sunderland to Lord Galway in the Portuguese State Papers, preserved in Record Office, relative to the despatch of reinforcements to Spain and Portugal. These forces, which had been sent out under the command of Lord Rivers, consisted of eleven squadrons of Dragoons, including two squadrons of Carpenter's (now 3rd Hussars), two of Lord Essex's (now 4th Hussars), four of Guiscard's Huguenots, and three of Stippenbach's Dutch, total 1,100. The Infantry consisted of the regiment of Hill, Mordaunt's (now 28th), Farrington's (29th), Watkin's, Hotham's, Mark Kerr's, Macartney's, two battalions of English Marines, Nassau's Germans, and the Huguenot regiments of Blosset, Sybourg, Torsay, Belcastel, Lislemarais, and Cavalier, the latter commanded by Colonel Jean Cavalier, a noted leader of Camissards, and who was even now only twenty-five years of age. The total of the Foot was 6,900 men. There was besides a train of thirty-four heavy guns, six mortars, sixty cohorns, and six field pieces.

The whole force was commanded by the Earl of Rivers. The principal officers under Lord Rivers were Lieutenant-General Erle, who had fought at Aughrim, Steenkirk, and Landen. Marquis de Guiscard was appointed to command the Huguenots. The brigadiers were Carpenter, Macartney, and the Earl of Essex. The adjutant-general was Colonel Kempenfeldt, and the Quartermaster-general, Colonel Jacob Borr, of the Marines. The chief engineer and commander of the train was the able English engineer, Michael Richards. The total strength of the reinforcement was 8,200 men. Sir Cloudesley Shovel was placed in command of the Fleet, which sailed from Portsmouth, with the troops on board, on the 10th August. They were driven back by contrary winds to Torbay. The original destination of the expedition was, by the advice of Guiscard, to have been near the mouth of the Charente, at which place they hoped to rouse the Huguenots by sending some of their co-religionists to enlist their sympathies. While, however, the Fleet waited at Torbay for favourable winds, it was decided that another attempt should be made on Cadiz. Accordingly, the Fleet sailed on the 12th October for that place, but a violent storm in the Bay of Biscay separated the ships. An arrangement had, however, been made before the Fleet sailed, that in case a storm separated them, it was understood that they would rendezvous at Lisbon, at which place they at last one by one arrived. The English Ministers, not thinking the time ripe to attempt the capture of Cadiz, Earl Rivers and his troops were ordered to Alicante to reinforce the Army under Galway, whence they proceeded in February the following year. Lord Sunderland had, in a letter to Galway, strongly urged the gallant Huguenot soldier to retain his commission, and informed him that the Queen had offered to do all she could to remove the difficulties he had hitherto struggled under. To show her desire to do this she had recalled Lord Peterborough's commission as ambassador, and had also consented that the forces under Lord Rivers should join the King of Spain and the troops in Valencia. Sunderland began his letter to Galway by assuring him of his belief that there was nobody but himself that could in any way manage the Portuguese, and that he was confident, when he reflected upon the difficulties his resignation would cause "that he would have patience for at least one campaign more."

By the death of the able energetic Ambassador Methuen on the 2nd July, and of Dom Pedro on the 6th December, the Queen lost in the former a most faithful servant and the Austrian Duke a powerful friend, in the latter an ally of doubtful value.

At the end of the year the Queen sent out the son of the late ambassador with a special mission to the new King of Portugal, Juan V. In the private instructions given to him, he was informed that the money allowed by the Queen for the support of the Portuguese troops was to be paid to them by English officials, and he was to represent to the King that the present bad position of affairs in Spain was due mainly to the want of discipline amongst the Portuguese troops, and the nonpayment of the subsidies to them. He was to impress in the most earnest manner on the new King and his Ministers, the necessity of largely recruiting his Army now in Spain, and by all proper means to engage them to act zealously and vigorously for the cause they had in hand.*

Lord Peterborough's conduct in the war was evidently severely condemned by the Queen of England, as is evidenced by a letter of Lord Sunderland—quoted in *Impartial Enquiry*—to Peterborough, in which he is informed that the Queen considers his answer to the inquiries put to him “in no sort satisfactory.”†

* State Papers, Foreign, various, 1706-1716, No. 461.

† *Impartial Enquiry*, p. 180.

CHAPTER XIV.

BATTLE OF ALMANZA—CONCLUSION OF THE WAR
IN SPAIN.

1707.

CONTENTS.—Council of War at Lisbon—Decided to send the Troops to Alicante—Another Council decides on advance on Madrid—King Charles goes to Barcelona—Strength of the Allies before Almanza—Strength of the Enemy—Galway concentrated at Xaliva—Captures and destroys Berwick's Magazines—Berwick marches to Almanza—Galway resolves to attack him, and arrives in four columns in front of Almanza—Positions taken up by the Allies and the French—The Battle of Almanza—Failure of Portuguese Cavalry—Galway wounded—Allies retreat—The Queen's, with other Battalions, rallied by General Shrimpton, of the Guards, escape to Caudete—Capitulate to the French—Losses in killed, wounded, and Prisoners—Galway, with his Staff, retreats to Ontinienti—Admiral Byng arrives at Alicante with Troops, Money, and Clothing—Requena falls into the hands of the Duke of Orleans—Berwick captures Town of Valencia—Demolishes its Defences—Gallant Defence of Denia—Particulars of the Siege and its Defence—Galway on the lines of the Ebro—Efforts of Berwick and Orleans to drive him back—Galway forms five Battalions from the remnants of the Regiments that escaped from Almanza—Colonel Honnywood appointed to the Queen's—Strength of Galway's re-organised Troops—Siege of Lerida by Orleans—Galway advances to relieve the Garrison—Garrison capitulates—Galway wishes to give up the command—Particulars of the five re-formed English Regiments in Spain—Queen's reduced—Subsistence pay of English Soldiers in Spain and Portugal—Marshal Von Staremberg placed in command of the Allies, with General Stanhope in command of the English Forces—Siege of Tortosa—Council at Barcelona on arrival of Sir John Leake—Marriage of King Charles—Capture of Sardinia—Siege and Capture of Minorca—Siege and Capture of Alicante—Intrepid conduct and death of Colonel Richards—Defeat of the Allies on the Banks of the Caya—Victory of the Allies at Almenara and Saragossa—Charles again enters Madrid—He is coldly received by the People—Staremberg retreats from Madrid—Stanhope surprised at Brihuega and taken prisoner, with the whole of his Force—Staremberg attacked by Vendôme—Retreats to Tarragona and Barcelona—Death of Emperor Joseph and Accession of King Charles to the Throne of Germany—End of the War of the Spanish Succession—Particulars and Cost of the War—Captain John Arnott directed to visit and relieve the English Prisoners in France and Spain—Petition of Officers of the Queen's Regiment for relief from great expense of War in Holland and Spain—Exchange of Officers arranged—Number of Men wanted to re-man the fourteen Battalions broken at Almanza—Lord Portmore ordered to raise Recruits so as to fit the Regiment for immediate Service—Particulars of recruiting parties of the Regiment—General

Erle ordered to review the Queen's and other Regiments—Regiment ordered to the North of England—Ordered for Foreign Service—Order cancelled—Drafts sent to Colonels Dormer's and Churchill's Regiments—Arrival of the Prisoners from Spain—Officers "en second" relieved by the old Officers released from captivity—Recruiting recommenced—Petition from Ensign Kennedy, wounded at Almanza, for relief—Petition for relief from Widow of Captain Philpott, killed at Tangiers—Cost of Regiment—Ordered for Foreign Service—Order cancelled—Lord Portmore retires from command of Regiment—Is succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Piercy Kirke—Price paid for command—Lord Portmore appointed Commander-in-Chief in Spain—Regiment short of Men—Strict orders from the Queen to recruit—Duel between Captain James Abercrombie and Lieutenant-Colonel Nevill—The latter wounded.

A SERIES of councils of war were held in Lisbon between the time of the arrival of the reinforcements from England under Lord Rivers and the commencement of this year's operations. One of these councils was held on December 28th (o.s.), and amongst the persons present were, besides Lord Rivers, Mr. Paul Methuen, Father Cienfuegos (? Cifuentes), M. Schomberg, Admirals Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Sir George Byng, and Sir John Norris, and Generals Erle and Lord Essex. After considerable discussion the unanimous opinion of the council was that the new troops should be landed at Alicante. A strong opinion was expressed against any division of the forces. Accordingly, in February the expedition sailed from Lisbon, arriving at Alicante on the 8th. Another council of war, presided over by King Charles, was held at Valencia on 15th January. The result of this council was adverse to the opinions of Galway and Stanhope, as well as to those of the council already noted. It was then decided that the Army should be concentrated for a second march on Madrid. To this fatal policy may be attributed the serious disaster that followed.

The King and his advisers had urged that the troops should be scattered throughout Catalonia and Valencia, "the allies remaining on the defensive." Lord Rivers, unfortunately, had sided with King Charles in this suicidal policy, and thus all the strength of the reinforcements sent from home was frittered away in an imbecile plan, born of weak councils and bred with irresolution. In accordance with the decisions that had been come to, Count Noyelles, accompanied by King Charles and the Spanish and some of the Dutch troops, left Valencia and returned to Barcelona. Rivers' action was condemned by the Court at home, and he was directed to put himself under the command of Galway, or return home, which latter course he adopted. The fatal policy of separating the forces of the allies, no doubt led to the terrible disaster at Almanza. The total of the troops that fought at the

battle was only, according to Parnell, some 15,500 of the whole strength of the allies. Out of this only 4,800 were English troops, 7,870 poor Portuguese levies, the remainder being Dutch, Huguenot and German.*

In the Parliamentary Papers there is a careful and complete analysis of the numbers of English troops that had been provided for the war. According to the result of this analysis, out of the number of English troops provided by Parliament for the year 1707, and given as 29,395, only 8,660 were in Spain at the time of the Battle of Almanza.†

Another paper gives the number of English troops as follows:—

Cavalry	...	...	...	1,374
Infantry	...	...	...	7,536
Total	...	...	...	<u>8,910‡</u>

In this latter list the strength of the Queen's regiment is given as 462 men.

These numbers Parnell calls only the nominal strength of regiment, and he asserts that the regiments were actually considerably below the nominal strength at Almanza.

His final analysis of the forces there are as follows:—

Brought by Galway from Madrid in September, 1706	...	12,000
Joined from Alicante and Catalonia	...	1,400
Lord Rivers' force	...	7,500
Total	...	<u>20,900</u>
Deduct—		
Withdrawn by Noyelles	...	1,600
One detachment at Callera, Alicante, and Denia	...	1,500
Loss by death and casualties since September, 1706	...	1,980
Montandre's battalion captured before Almanza	...	320
		<u>5,400</u>
Remaining present at Almanza	...	<u>15,500</u>

And this 15,500 Parnell divides as follows:—

Portuguese levies	...	7,870
English troops	...	4,800
Dutch „	...	1,480
Huguenot „	...	1,100
German „	...	200
Total	...	<u>15,500</u>

* Parnell, p. 213.

† Journals of the House of Commons, 1705–1708, No. 15.

‡ Impartial Enquiry.

In Galway's return sent to the House of Commons, giving the number of troops present in Spain at the time of the Battle of Almanza, he puts the number at 13,759. From this total number he deducts 4,000 left in the several garrisons, and 1,800 with Noyelles, leaving 8,959.

In addition to the weakening of the force under Galway, it must be considered that the absence of the King after the experience of last year was most prejudicial to the success of the troops engaged.

Parnell, in a note in his *History of the War*, states that the policy of dividing the forces deprived Galway of the support of over 10,300 men. This, of course, is inclusive of what the King and Noyelles took with them when they departed for Barcelona. Had Galway had the support of these 10,300 men, the catastrophe of Almanza would never have occurred.

The English regiments with Galway at Almanza were :—

HORSE.

Harvey's Dragoons.
Carpenter's Regiment.
Pearce's "
Peterborough's "
Killigrew's (a remnant of).
And Guiscard's Huguenots.

FOOT.

The Guards' Regiment.
The Queen's "
Southwell's (late Rivers') Regiment.
Stuart's "
Hill's "
Blood's "
Mordaunt's "
Wade's "
George's (late Donegal's) "
Alnutt's (late Charlemont's) Regiment.
Mountjoy's "
Macartney's "
Breton's "
Bowles' (late John Caulfield's) "
Mark Kerr's "
And a battalion of Marines.

The force under Berwick, according to the best authorities consisted of seventy-six squadrons and fifty-two battalions, altogether 25,400 men, nearly one-half of which were good seasoned French troops. He had, also, with him a good train of Artillery. A strong reinforcement of 8,000 men was, also under the Duc d'Orleans. a nephew of the French King's, marching to join

Berwick. It must also not be overlooked that the Portuguese with Galway were raw inexperienced levies.

Galway, as soon as he had made all his arrangements for the campaign, began early in April to concentrate his troops between Elda and Xaliva. After much thought he had decided, before marching to meet his adversary, to destroy as many of the enemy's magazines and stores as possible, so that, while he was absent from Valencia, he might secure the province from any inroads on a large scale. Accordingly, on the 10th, he crossed the Murcian frontier, and made straight for Berwick's principal magazine at Yecla, which place he captured, the French Marshal retreating to Montalegre. Galway followed, and again Berwick fled, and the magazines at that place and Caudete fell into the hands of the allies. Berwick, who, at the commencement of Galway's operations, was at Villena, had—no doubt with the view of avoiding a contest till he had completed his arrangements,—fallen back to Chinchilla, about sixty miles in rear of Villena. Here, after collecting all the troops he could, he marched to Almanza.

After the capture of his enemy's magazines, Galway fell back on Villena, in order to take possession of a small castle there, which, being well posted, he deemed advisable to capture before entering Arragon for his march to Madrid. Here he heard of Berwick's march to Almanza, which place was about twenty-five miles from Villena. A council of war was held on the 24th April, when it was decided to hazard an attack on Berwick if he could be induced to wait for it. It was a decision which, though hazardous, considering the enemy's strength and the losses by sickness amongst the raw troops brought by Rivers, and also the exhaustion of his supplies, consequent on the hostility of the Murcians, was not to a leader like Galway impossible to accomplish. He no doubt calculated on the dash and enterprise of his troops, and, from the detail shown of the battle, he might have been successful had the Portuguese followed up the gallant lead of the English troops.

On the 24th the Army began its march. The staff, besides the two leaders Das Minas and Galway, consisted of, for the English contingent, Lieutenant-General Lord Tyrawley (late Sir Charles O'Hara), Lieutenant-General Erle, and Major-General Shrimpton in command of divisions; Brigadier-General Macartney, Colonels Hill, Breton, and Wade in command of brigades of Foot. Brigadiers Killigrew and Carpenter commanded the Cavalry. Colonel M. Richards, with Colonel Borgard as his second, commanded the small English Artillery force of six guns.

The Dutch were under Major-General Frisheim, with Major-General Count Dohua as his second in command. Brigadier-General Lislemarais commanded the Huguenot Foot. Lieutenant-General De Mascerenas commanded the Portuguese Artillery of twenty guns.

On the night of the 24th the allies rested at Caudete, and at daybreak resumed their march in four columns towards Almanza, distant about eight miles from Caudete.

Berwick had chosen his position at Almanza with much skill. In his front was a large plain, across which his foe must march to get at him, and which could be swept by his Artillery. Behind him was the town of Almanza, into which place he had sent his baggage and equipment. Almanza was a small town, but surrounded with a wall which was capable of defence. Berwick divided his force into two lines, as was the usual practice. His flanks rested on high ground, the right towards Montalegre and his left covering the road to Valencia. "In front was a ravine, gradually dying out to the right, and thus, whilst defending his Foot, offering no opposition to the movements of his Horse." His Cavalry was commanded by the Duke de Popoli and the gallant D'Asfeld on the right of his lines, and by St. Gilles and Count D'Avaray on the left. The Irish Colonel Mahony commanded a brigade of Horse under Davaray. His Foot in the first line was commanded by Vincentillo and La Badie, and the second line by De Hessey.

About noon the head of the allied columns appeared on the fatal plain of Almanza. At the sight of his enemy Berwick at once struck his tents and sent all his equipment into the town, and arranged his lines of battle. Galway halted his troops about two miles from the enemy, and after a short rest leisurely made his preparations for the attack. His two lines were formed with brigades of Infantry interlined with Horse, to compensate for his numerical inferiority in the latter arm, by which plan he prolonged his Cavalry front and gave them flank support. The Horse on the right of the line was commanded by Das Minas, and on the left by Galway, with Lord Tyrawley as his second. With him were the English, Dutch, and the Huguenot Dragoons.

The fight began at three p.m. by the advance of the left wing of the allied Horse (of the first line) against the right of the enemy. In order to meet this attack Berwick ordered some squadrons from his left to support his right, this being perceived by Lord Tyrawley, he at once ordered up from the second line some Portuguese Horse under Count d'Atalaya to make an equal front with the enemy. The attack was in echelon of brigades from the left.

The enemy's battery, on an eminence on the right, now began to play upon the advancing allies, which was quickly replied to by the Artillery under Richards and Mascerenas. Colonel Dormer was sent with a detachment of Essex Dragoons against the enemy's battery, who, not waiting to receive the attack, at once limbered up, and retired in great precipitation. When Carpenter, who led the brigade on the extreme left was within 100 paces of the enemy, the Duke de Popoli advanced to meet the charge, and an obstinate and bloody fight began, the English, by mere weight of numbers, being driven back some fifty paces.

Wade's brigade of Foot, which had been interlined on the left of this brigade of Horse, now came up, and some well delivered volleys from his regiment and Southwell's stopped the advance, and the English Cavalry recovering, charged furiously, driving the enemy back right through their first line with great slaughter. The English and Dutch Foot in the centre with the French Huguenots had, in the meantime, been advancing, and now attacked the centre of Berwick's first line with the greatest impetuosity, the Guards and the Queen's regiments leading the attack. So gallant and determined was the onslaught, that the enemy's first and second lines were driven right back on to their supports, the two leading battalions (Guards and Queen's) advancing close up to the walls of the town, the whole of Berwick's Infantry being thrown back in the greatest disorder against the walls. Now was the critical moment of the fight, a moment which always comes in a well contested batt'e, and when the cohesion and force of an Army united in spirit and dash is tried. Had Das Minas on the right advanced to cover the exposed English right flank, as he undoubtedly ought to have done, the battle would have been won, but he most unaccountably held back. This being soon perceived by Berwick, he, like a capable commander, determined, by an attack on this flank, to endeavour to relieve the pressure on his left and centre. A resolute advance of the French Horse, under St. Gilles, seemed to so terrify the Portuguese that, with the exception of a few squadrons immediately around Das Minas, they broke and fled, their example being followed by seven or eight of their battalions and the Portuguese Artillery. About eleven of the Portuguese battalions in the first line stood firm, and fought well for a time, forming squares to resist the Cavalry charges. After a short contest they were also dispersed, numbers of them being killed at their posts. Das Minas behaved with the greatest gallantry, his exertions, considering his advanced age, were wonderful. It is said that his

mistress, who had followed him through the campaign, was killed fighting by his side, dressed in soldier's clothes.*

In the meantime the left wing of the allies had nobly maintained their position, though repeatedly charged by the Horse under Popoli and D'Asfeld, the interlined Foot doing splendid service. The losses were, however, beginning to tell. The intrepid Galway, fighting with one hand had received two sabre cuts over the right eye, temporarily depriving him of sight. Killigrew had met a gallant soldier's death, charging to his fate, though desperately wounded. Colonels Dormer, Lawrence, and Green, commanding regiments of Cavalry, were killed. Count D'Atalya and Colonel Pearce, who had led several charges of their respective regiments were wounded, the second in command to Colonel Pearce, Lieutenant-Colonel De Loches, being killed. The Spanish Cavalry that had been engaged with the allied left, got so dispirited by their severe losses and their repeated failures to break the resolute advance of the allies, that they retired to a rising ground in the rear of their second line, and could not be induced to charge again.

Berwick now made a determined attempt, by a combined Infantry and Cavalry attack, to drive back the victorious left. Reforming the broken ranks of his Spanish troops with the greatest difficulty, he sent forward nine French battalions to oppose Wade's brigade on the right, which had been reinforced with Stuart's regiment. With the French he sent a number of fresh squadrons of Horse, placing the whole under D'Asfeld's command. The allies were unable to resist this new and powerful attack, and the gallant and heroic English and Dutch troopers were at last driven back with great loss. Galway had by this time returned to the field, and seeing the desperate state of the left, he sent forward Colonel Roper, who commanded Harvey's Horse, to drive back the French battalions that were pressing heavily on the flank of Wade's brigade. Roper, with his Horse, drove home his charge with so much vigour, that he broke through before the enemy's squadrons could advance to their succour, and made them beg for quarter, the gallant leader falling at the head of his regiment. The troops composing our centre attack, which had been so successful against the enemy's centre, were now in a perilous position. They had for some time been waging an unequal conflict with the enemy's right wing of Cavalry, which now surrounded them, the Guards and Cavaliers Huguenots suffering terribly. A final charge was now made by the Huguenot Horse,

* History of the War of the Spanish Succession, by Lord Mahon, London, 1832, p. 232.

led by Carpenter, which enabled Galway to retreat, with about 3,500 men, in good order. He was also able, before retiring definitely from the fatal field, to send off Colonel Richards with the English guns and all his camp equipment, stores, and ambulances, with the sick and wounded, a convoy of 400 waggons.

The remnant, of thirteen battalions, some 2,000 men composing the principal part of the centre division, who had so splendidly driven back the enemy's centre, were, in spite of their desperate position, rallied by General Shrimpton, of the Guards, assisted by Brigadier Macartney, Colonels Hill, Breton, and some stragglers of the Dutch and Portuguese, and also by Count D'Hona and Don Juan Manuel. These troops at length reached Caudete Wood, about eight miles from the battle field. D'Asfeld followed in hot pursuit. Shrimpton took up a strong position in the wood. The troops lay all night on their arms. In the morning a council of war was held. From the records of this council, it appears evident that many were in favour of resistance; but it was at last decided to make terms for capitulation. The men had been disheartened by the crushing defeat they had already sustained, they were without a supply of food, and it is averred also that their ammunition was short. No doubt the Cavalry that surrounded them had sent off to Berwick for troops, and there seemed little chance of a successful resistance. The London Gazette, in its account of the events, states that at dawn next morning they found they were being surrounded by two lines of Foot. Shrimpton, therefore, sent to Berwick desiring honourable terms, which the victor granted, these being the same that were allowed to the French captured by Marlborough at Blenheim, the men to be prisoners of war till exchanged, and the officers to retain their swords. They were also promised their baggage before marching.

The total number of battalions captured, including those taken prisoners on the field, was, says Hamilton, twenty-three in all. The English regiments which capitulated at Caudete were the Queen's, Hill's, George's, Breton's, and Macartney's. Hamilton gives the Guards also as one of the regiments. This, however, is said by Parnell, in his History of the War, to be incorrect. The latter historian, whose account of the war is most complete, and his relation of the events most accurate, gives the losses in the Battle of Almanza as 4,000 killed and wounded and 3,000 prisoners. Besides these 7,000, there were 5,000 dispersed during the fight, 1,500 of which number afterwards joined Galway during the retreat, most of the remainder joining their regiments when they returned to Catalonia.

In the Queen's, Lieutenant Brady was killed and Lieutenant Kennedy wounded, and those taken prisoners with the regiment besides Lieutenant-Colonel Kirke, were Major Cullyford; Captains Layton (or Laton), Arnott, Hart, Goslin (or Gossin), Giles, Phillips, Jackson, and Slack; Lieutenants May, Sayers (or Sawyers), Braed (or Bracelay), Frasier (or Frazier), and A. Slany (or Arthlony); Ensigns Nichols, Brown, Graham, Johnson, and Downs; and Surgeon Dalrymple. Eighty-eight officers in all were killed in the battle and pursuit*—one brigadier-general, five colonels, seven lieutenant-colonels, two majors, thirty captains, and forty-three subalterns. The total number of officers taken prisoners was 290, ninety-two of which were wounded.

The following is a return of the number of British officers killed, wounded, and taken prisoners at the Battle of Almanza†:—

Regiments.	Killed.					Wounded and Prisoners.				
	Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff and Quarter-masters.	Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff and Quarter-masters.
Harvey's Horse, 2nd Dragoon Guards -	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	1
Carpenter's Dragoons, 3rd Dragoons -	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lord Essex, 4th Dragoons -	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Colonel Killigren's, 8th Dragoons -	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lord Peterborough's Dragoons -	1	—	2	1	2	—	—	—	—	—
Colonel Edward Pearce's Dragoons -	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	6	2	—
Foot Guards (1st and 2nd) -	1	—	2	—	—	2	—	3	3	—
Lord Portmore's regiment, the Queen's -	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	6	12	1
Colonel Southwell's regiment, 6th Foot -	1	—	4	4	—	—	—	2	9	3
Colonel Stuart's regiment, 9th Foot -	—	—	5	3	—	—	—	4	12	—
Colonel Hill's regiment, 11th Foot -	—	1	3	2	—	1	1	5	13	—
Colonel Blood's regiment, 17th Foot -	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	4	13	1
Lord Mordaunt's regiment, 28th Foot -	—	—	1	1	—	1	1	3	12	—
Colonel Wills' Marines, 30th Foot -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Colonel Borr's Marines, 32nd Foot -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Colonel Wade's regiment, 33rd Foot -	—	—	2	3	—	—	—	6	11	—
Colonel George's regiment, 35th Foot -	—	—	3	—	—	1	—	5	11	—
Colonel Alnutt's regiment, 36th Foot -	—	—	2	3	—	3	—	—	19	—
Lord Mountoy's disbanded in 1713 -	—	—	—	1	—	2	1	1	13	—
Colonel Bowles' " -	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	8	13	—
Colonel Breton's " -	—	—	—	3	—	3	—	7	12	—
Colonel Macartney's " -	1	—	—	4	—	2	1	6	11	1
Lord Mark Kerr's " -	2	—	3	3	—	—	1	2	11	—
Nassaues " -	—	—	1	4	—	1	1	6	10	—
	13	2	30	39	3	18	7	75	181	9
Number of wounded included as prisoners -	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	16	67	5

* Historical MSS. Commission, Eighth Report, p. 51a.

† Cannon's History of Second Regiment of Foot, p. 32.

The numbers differ a little from the account of the losses given by Parnell.

The victory of Berwick was most complete. The allies lost nearly all their baggage and artillery. Twenty-four guns, "with one hundred and twenty standards, bearing the arms of almost every nation leagued against France and Spain," were captured, including the standards of the provinces of Valencia, Arragon, and Catalonia, fighting with the allies. Mahon writes: "So large was the booty, that some days after the battle a horse might be purchased in the camp of Berwick for one dollar, a coat for fifteen French pence, and a musket for five."*

Galway, after leaving the battle field, made the best of his way, entirely unmolested, to Ontinienti, distant from Almanza some twenty-two miles. Lord Tyrawley, Das Minas, Erle, Frisheim, and Wade accompanied him. The baggage he sent on to Valencia. On the 26th April he left Ontinienti for Alcira, on the Xucar, and at once set to work to arrange for the defence of the Valencian fortresses. While the strong places of Valencia were in the hands of the allies, and there was a reasonable chance of their being held and succoured, Galway, whose gallant soul neither wounds nor defeat could daunt, felt that the cause was not lost. He had sent word to Admiral Byng, who had arrived at Alicante with 2,600 troops and money and clothing, that he wished him to convoy his sick, wounded, and baggage from Alicante to Tortosa, and had informed him that he was on his way to Catalonia "to make up another Army." The engineer, Richards (now Major-General), was in command at Alicante. Having completed his arrangements for the defence of the Valenciennes fortresses, Galway set out for Tortosa, passing through the city of Valencia, arriving on the 5th May at Murviedro. Resting here for three days, he set out again on the 8th, and arrived at Tortosa, about 100 miles from Murviedro, on the 19th May.

The Duke of Orleans, to his great chagrin, arrived at Almanza the day after the battle. He then set off on the 2nd May to besiege Requena and Valencia. Requena fell without striking a blow, and on the 6th May he arrived at Chesti, from whence he sent a summons to the townspeople of Valencia to surrender. The town was unable to organise a defence, so the Duke was soon in possession of the place.

Berwick remained in command at Valencia, and Orleans, after the capture of Requena, marched to Tudela in Navarre, intending,

* Mahon's War of the Spanish Succession, p. 234.

after his reinforcements had joined him, to occupy Saragossa, afterwards, in accordance with arrangements made with Berwick, he was to rejoin him before Lerida.

The latter general, having demolished the defences round Valencia and levied a fine on the wretched inhabitants, proceeded to Murviedro, and after some operations against the works covering a passage of the Ebro, he returned to continue the siege of the fortress at Valencia, which still held out. D'Asfeld had been sent to capture Xativa. This town was gallantly defended for thirty-nine days by a Spanish Governor. Colonel Campbell in the castle or fortress also made a brave defence. At the same time the Irish General Mahony was sent by Orleans with 3,000 men against Alcira. Both Xativa and Alcira made a strenuous resistance. D'Asfeld was so enraged at the difficulties he had in capturing Xativa that on obtaining possession he stained his victory by great barbarities, putting every living creature to the sword. Both Campbell and Stewart, the latter being in command at Alcira, before they would capitulate, stipulated to be allowed to march out with the honours of war and an engagement that they were to be escorted to the camp of the allies, which was conceded.

News arrived at Alicante on the 26th April of the disastrous Battle of Almanza, and instructions were sent to Major-General Richards, the engineer governor, to prepare for the eventuality of a siege of the place. He was ordered to put provisions and arms into the castle. The overplus, as well as any that came with the Fleet and also the money and clothing, was to be sent to Tortosa and Barcelona. Lord Galway, who had sent these instructions, informed Richards that he was at Aleira (Alcira?), marching with all diligence towards Tortosa, and that he had with him 3,000 Horse and "the very few Foot that was saved."

Galway, on his march to Tortosa, met Ramos on his way from Lerida, and at once ordered him to Denia. The defence of this place was one of the most brilliant affairs during the war. For twenty-seven days did the united forces of D'Asfeld and Mahony, who had with them over 9,000 men, besiege the town. Four grand assaults were delivered with great determination. On the 9th July, the day of the third assault, a welcome reinforcement arrived in the ship Lancaster, Captain Moody, who, hearing the place was being besieged, came in and landed 400 seamen. On the 11th, the day after D'Asfeld had made his final attempt, he struck his camp and marched away, Ramos at once issuing from the town to harass his retreat. The losses of the enemy during the siege was some 3,500 men, 1,500 being killed, the garrison losing only 300. The 185 English troops that were in the town

belonged to Montandre's and Hotham's regiments. Besides these troops there were 360 Spanish troops and 2,500 armed citizens. The English, under Major Charles Percival, an ancestor of Lord Egmont, formed the garri-on of the castle. Their losses were only four killed and seven wounded.

The English Engineer, Major-General Richards, who was governor of Alicante, writing to a correspondent on 9th August (N.S.), informs him that though he has been at the greatest difficulty to maintain his post, he had yet been able to send succour by sea to Denia, and that the allies had obliged the French to raise the siege with the loss of 2,000 men.* In Porter's History of the Royal Engineers there are some interesting particulars of this memorable defence. Chardeloup, the engineer in charge of the siege, had most skilfully entrenched the defenders in the weak point of the place, and they were thus enabled to successfully repulse the enemy, when they advanced to endeavour to carry the place by storm on the 7th and 8th of July. Chardeloup was highly praised for his skilful defence and for the works which he had erected under the greatest difficulties.†

Galway, with much energy and skill, had so well established himself on the lines of the Ebro and Cinca, that for a long time he was able to effectually foil the attempt of the united forces of Orleans and Berwick to get into Catalonia. A line of twenty-five miles along the River Cinca was kept by 4,000 Horse, chiefly English, against 6,600 Horse and 5,400 Foot. Every fort was so vigilantly guarded that for fourteen days the efforts of the enemy to cross the river failed. At last, on 1st July, Legal crossed and afterward Orleans, upon which Galway fell back, posting himself in a new position near Lerida. An effort of Orleans to surprise Galway at Alcares failing, both the Armies took shelter and rest from the summer heats.

During this rest Galway was not idle. The stragglers from the fatal Battle of Almanza had been gradually coming in to join him, and from these stragglers he resuscitated the five oldest regiments that were engaged. These were:—The Queen's, Southwell's (6th), Stuart's (9th), Hill's (11th), and Blood's (17th), and later on Mordaunt's (28th) and Wade's (33rd) regiments.

The command of the Queen's regiment Galway gave to Colonel Honnywood, who had fought at the siege of Valencia in 1705 as second in command of Boucassion's regiment. On his appointment to the Queen's regiment, Galway made him brigadier.‡

* State Papers, Spain, 1700–1715, No. 131.

† History of the Royal Engineers, Porter, Vol. I., pp. 130, 131.

‡ Domestic Entry Book, 1706–1709, Vol. I.

Galway also raised four new battalions of Catalonians, recruited King Charles' Saragossa regiment to its full strength, "re-equipped the English Horse, and strengthened the train."

By the beginning of September, when he again took the field, he had with him, besides his own newly organised forces, the remnants of the gallant garrisons of Xativa and Alcira, numbering 4,800 Horse and 9,800 Foot, with twenty guns, "who, after three months' travelling in Arragon, had marched into the allied camp with drums beating and colours flying." It was a remarkable feat of the gallant Huguenot General when it is remembered that only five months before he had sustained a crushing defeat, his Army had been almost annihilated, and he himself wounded and debilitated. Nothing could quench the indomitable spirit of the brave Huguenot.

Orleans had been cantoned at Balaguer at the beginning of October. Having been there joined with a reinforcement of 5,000 men relieved by the failure of Prince Eugene against Toulon, and with other forces from Navarre and Valencia, he began the siege of Lerida.* The garrison consisted of only 1,800 regulars and 800 Miguelets. In the regulars were three English regiments, Royal Fusiliers, Will's (30th), and a battalion of Marines. Prince Henry was the governor, and well sustained the siege against the overwhelming force brought against it. On the 29th October Galway, having got all his train, baggage, and supplies ready, left Tarraga, and marched to Las Borjas, near the left bank of the Segre. On hearing of Galway's advance, Orleans left his headquarters at Balaguer, collecting out of his forces a covering Army to prevent Galway crossing the river and relieving the siege, which he saw was his intention. Berwick was placed in command of this force. Galway, expecting to be attacked, took up a strong position at Las Borjas, interlining his Horse and Foot, as he did at Almanza. He himself led forward fourteen squadrons to endeavour, by a reconnaissance in force, to communicate with the garrison. This he was enabled to do by the courage and skill of a scout, who managed to break through the French lines. The Prince made Galway understand that he was at the last extremity, upon which Galway signalled his inability to relieve the garrison. On the 10th November Prince Henry agreed to treat for capitulation, and on the 14th the plucky garrison, with Prince Henry and Colonel Wills, marched out to join Galway, the Duc d'Orleans, as the troops passed before him, complimenting the gallant Austrian on his defence.

* Our old Tangier friend, the grand old sailor, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, was wrecked in his flag ship, the *Association*, on the Scilly Isles, returning from Toulon.

The two Armies now retired into their winter quarters. Orleans cantoned his troops between the Cinca and the Segre Rivers, the allies retiring to Reuss and Tarragona. Before departing Orleans decided to attempt the capture of Morella, in Northern Valencia. The place, made a good defence, and it was not till 17th December that it fell, Berwick himself having had to proceed there to assist D'Arènes, who had been sent with 5,000 men to conduct the siege.

On the 11th December Lord Galway wrote to Lord Sunderland from Tarragona, again urging upon him that he was no longer fit to conduct the campaign, assuring the Minister "that for the honour of the nation, and for the good of Her Majesty's Service, and for my own sake 'tis necessary I should retire from hence, being by no means capable of going through this service. But if, after all I have said on the subject, Her Majesty is pleased to command me to stay here, I declare I will not be answerable for any ill success that may happen."*

A very sharp correspondence took place in December and January next year between Sunderland and Peterborough. The Minister, evidently conveying the Queen's opinion, blamed Lord Peterborough greatly for not advancing in 1706 to help Galway in his successful march to Madrid.

In the Treasury Papers there are some particulars of the prisoners taken at the Battle of Almanza. In a report of P. Meadows and James Bridges, Comptrollers to the Lord Treasurer, it is stated that after the battle and until the 5th March 1708, the Queen's regiment and Stuart's were "continued on foot in Spain, and were composed, besides what remained of their own regiment, of remnants from Alnutt's, Wade's, Macartney's, Montandre's, and Lord Mark Kerr's regiment."

Lord Galway had reported to the Treasury Lords that out of the fifteen Almanza regiments which went into the fight, he had only been able to form five battalions, which at the end of the campaign he had reduced to four battalions. These five reformed battalions were Portmore's (the Queen's), Southwell's (6th), Stuart's (9th), Hill's (11th), and Blood's (17th). Colonel Honnywood, as already stated, was given the command of the Queen's. When the five were reduced to four, for some reason the oldest regiment, the Queen's, was the one that was reduced. Next year, in May, Colonel Honnywood sent in a petition to Walpole to lay before the Queen, in which he prays to be appointed to the command of Alnutt's regiment (which had become vacant by death). In his petition he recites his services, and writes that in consequence of these services

* State Papers, Spain, 1707-1710, No. 138.

Lord Galway promised him the command of the first regiment at his disposal. After reorganising the five old battalions named, Galway gave command of the oldest to him. As in his petition he mentions that the battalion is "since reduced," there seems no doubt that this was the battalion selected for reduction when the five were reduced to four as mentioned before.*

It appears that new clothing had been shipped for the regiment, but news having arrived of the defeat at Almanza, orders were on 18th June sent to Portsmouth that it was to be disembarked there, as the Foot regiments in Spain had "for the most part been cut to pieces."† There is a considerable correspondence in the Audit Office, and Comptrollers' accounts, with respect to the number of effectives in the fifteen regiments before and after the Battle of Almanza. On the 22nd February 1711, W. Sloper writes to G. King from the Pay Office, sending a copy of the return of effectives remaining in Spain after the battle, also a list of the number of prisoners after the battle, as they stood in May, June, and December 1707. In this list the Queen's strength is given "in May after the battle 235; in June, 186; in December, 165; in April 1708, 115."

According to a return sent by Major-General Shrimpton to Lord Galway, and which came to hand on the 14th December, the prisoners taken at Almanza seem to have been interned at Madrid, with a few at Toledo and Burgos, shortly afterward; they were removed to France. Two hundred and twenty-seven serjeants, eighty drummers, 2,369 private men were at Madrid; 150 private men at Toledo and Burgos. It must have been with sad hearts that they found themselves again at Madrid, not as last year as conquerors, but as prisoners.

A return of Lord Galway sent in on 13th August 1711, gives the strength of the Queen's before the battle as 442.‡ A letter in the same papers orders soldiers of the regiment to be quartered in Chelsea Hospital.

A number of letters were sent in December relating to the clothing of the Army. Lord Portmore was ordered, on the 4th December, to send a list of the officers of the regiment, distinguishing those present at Almanza.

The quota and cost of the regiment remained the same as before, viz., 876 and an annual cost of 15,512*l.* 10*s.*

A curious remark of Marie Louise de Savoie of one of the heroes of the Spanish War is given in a collection of Memos. She is

* Domestic Entry Book, 1706-1709, Vol. I.

† War Office, Common Letter Book, 1707, pp. 194, 215.

‡ Audit Office, Comptrollers of the Accounts of the Army, 1710-1701.

reported to have said of Berwick that he was "*un grand diable d'Anglois qui alloit toujours tout droit son chemin.*" It is also a curious piece of history that in this War of the Spanish Succession, the two great actors in it should have been a Frenchman, Ruvigny, fighting on the English side, and an Englishman, Berwick, fighting on the French side.*

In the War Office Books is a regulation of the subsistence per diem to be paid to every officer and soldier in the forces in Spain and Portugal; as follows:—For an ordinary regiment of Foot, to a Colonel and Captain, 16*s.* 6*d.*; to a Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain, 13*s.*; to a Major and Captain, 10*s.*; to a Captain, 6*s.*; to a Lieutenant, 3*s.*; to an Ensign, 2*s.* 6*d.*; to a Quartermaster, 3*s.* 6*d.*; to a Chaplain, 5*s.*; to an Adjutant, 3*s.* 6*d.*; to a Chirurgurgeon, 3*s.* 6*d.*; to a mate, 2*s.*; to a Drummer, 8*d.*; to a Serjeant, 1*s.*; to a Corporal, 8*d.*; to a private man, 6*d.*†

The temporary battalion of the "Queen's," under the command of Colonel Honnywood, was quartered during the winter in Tarragona, and as it was absorbed in the other four battalions some time in the spring of 1708, the interest of the "Queen's" in the war in Spain ceases with the disaster at Almanza. A short account, however, of the events till the close of the war, in which the "Queen's" had been so closely engaged, will not be out of place in this history.

The English Ministers, though grieved at the fate of their troops at Almanza, did not despair for the cause they had in hand; but they had agreed that a less costly method of continuing the war would be by Imperial troops subsisted by money from England. A large contingent was therefore sent, and the command of the whole forces for the campaign put in the hands of Field-Marshal Von Staremberg. Major-General Stanhope was selected by Marlborough to command the English troops in the place of Galway, who, in deference to his repeated desires, had been allowed to retire from active command, but was kept in the Peninsular to help and aid by his counsel. In order to retain him there, he was made Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Portugal and Ambassador at the Court at Lisbon. Stanhope received his instructions on the 28th March as "Envoy Extraordinary to the King of Spain and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces there."‡

The first event of the campaign was the siege of Tortosa. This place had had its defences strengthened and improved under the

* Collection of Memos, Pellitot, Vol. 65, p. 285.

† War Office, Establishment Book, 1703-1710.

‡ State Papers, Spain, 1707-1711, No. 138.

direction of the Huguenot Engineer Colonel Lewis Petit. On the 11th June Orleans completed the investment of the town. Count Esseren, the governor, made a brave defence, but by the 10th July, a practicable breach being made in his defences, and his provisions running short, he capitulated, his garrison having been reduced from 3,200 regulars and 1,000 Miguelets to about 2,000 men in all. Staremburg had hoped to have been able to have relieved him, but having to wait for reinforcements expected from Italy, and these unfortunately not arriving in time, he was unable to carry out his intention. He attempted to recover the place in December, and though successful in carrying the outworks, was compelled at last to abandon the siege.

The year, however, did not pass away without some compensation to the allies. Sir John Leake, with the united Anglo-Dutch Fleet, arrived at Lisbon in May, and after a conference with Galway left for Barcelona, where a Grand Council was held presided over by King Charles. After a short stay Leake left for Italy for a double object, to bring over reinforcements and to convoy the Princess Elizabeth Wolfenbuttel, who, during the winter, had been betrothed to the King. At the end of July he returned, and the marriage was celebrated in Barcelona with much pomp. It having been decided that the capture of Sardinia and Minorca should be attempted, Leake sailed for the former place. The land forces with him were commanded by Major-General Wills, with whom was the enterprising partisan leader Cifuentes. The Fleet having arrived before Cagliari, the Sardinian capital, next day Wills landed with the troops; and a few shells thrown by the Fleet into the town was sufficient to bring the inhabitants to terms. Cifuentes was installed as viceroy, and the Fleet then sailed for Minorca.

On the 13th September they were before Mahon, which place at once gave in, but the citadel Fort Phillip, a strong work, promised a long and protracted resistance. Stanhope had come out in a ship commanded by his brother, Captain Phillip Stanhope, to conduct the siege of Minorca. By reason of the advanced season of the year, it was considered advisable to send home as many ships as could be spared from the siege, Leake, therefore, leaving seventeen vessels with Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Whittaker, left with the rest of the Fleet.

By the 28th of the month, Engineer Petit's guns having made breaches in the defences, storming parties led by Stanhope and Wade entered, the enemy retiring into the fort. In this attack Stanhope's brother Captain Phillip—who had accompanied the party led by his brother—was killed and about forty others.

The next day Colonel La Jonguière agreed to capitulate with military honours, though the resistance might have been prolonged. Colonel Petit was appointed governor by Stanhope to mark his sense of the nature of his services. The forces then returned to Barcelona.

The defence and capture of Alicante at the beginning of next year (1709), was marked by a deed of heroism and self-sacrifice on the part of the governor, Major-General Michael Richards, that will for ever shed a halo round his name. The enemy had mined the base of the rock on which the castle stood, and having filled the mine with 117,600 pounds of gunpowder, he summoned Richards to surrender, inviting him, before replying, to send to inspect the mine. This was done, and it was seen that it was *bond fide* a mine and ready to be sprung. Richards, after duly considering and calculating the chances, resolved to risk the explosion of the mine.

Early on the morning of the 3rd March Richards, accompanied by the senior officers off duty, took up his station on the parade under which the mine was driven, and round which the sentries and guards were placed. It was absolutely necessary for the safety of the castle that the guards and sentries should not be withdrawn, and these being necessarily exposed to the greatest danger, it was, in the opinion of the noble-minded governor, his duty to share it with them. At about six a.m. the corporal of the adjacent guard cried out that the fuse was lit, and immediately after a convulsion shook the rock as if an earthquake had occurred, and, like as in an earthquake, the ground opened and swallowed up the devoted Richards, many of his officers, and the greater portion of his guards. Besides the governor, Colonel Frederick Syburg commanding the Huguenots, Lieutenant-Colonel Thornecroft commanding Hotham's regiment, Major Vignoles, forty-two soldiers, and eight other officers were buried alive in this terrible explosion.

As Richards had calculated, the springing of the mine, beyond the loss of the guards, and of those with them, (which alas including Richards,) did little harm to the defence, which, under Lieutenant-Colonel D'Albon, still held out with unflinching determination, anxiously waiting and hoping for the promised succour. At last, on the 15th April, Admiral Byng arrived with Stanhope and twenty-three sail of the line. Most unaccountably the long expected succour, which consisted of 4,000 soldiers, 9,000 seamen, and 1,400 heavy guns, failed to relieve the intrepid garrison. By the advice of Stanhope they capitulated, after enduring a siege of over five months' duration.

In 1709 the allies sustained another defeat on the banks of the River Caya, which was mainly caused by the obstinacy of the

Portuguese General in acting against Galway's advice. The Portuguese Horse repeated their tactics as at Almanza, and retired without striking a blow, leaving the English Foot surrounded on both flanks, with of course the same disastrous results. Galway, after this second experience of the utter worthlessness of the Portuguese Horse, decided that he would not again allow English soldiers to fight in their company.

In the next year's campaign (1710), the allies, under the able generalship of Staremberg, gained a decisive action at Almenara, followed by the victory at Saragossa on the 20th August, thus opening the way to Madrid. Charles was this time with the Army. On the 21st September 1710, General Stanhope, with the vanguard of the Army, followed later on by Staremberg and the rest of the troops, entered Madrid. They found most of the shops, the manufactories, and private houses closed, "the streets nearly empty, and the people silent."

On the 28th Charles made his second public entry into Madrid, with all military pomp, surrounded by some of his best Cavalry and with his household and guards behind him. A pious or political motive led him to pay his first visit to the church of Atocha, "much renowned throughout Spain for its sanctity, and decked with all the standards lost by the allies at Almanza."*

The King was coldly received by the people, and it was not long before Staremberg found himself in the same position as Galway in the former occupation, and had to make preparations for his retreat. It was arranged that the retreat should be by separate columns, each column being comprised of the separate nationalities.

The Army left Madrid on the 11th November, taking with them, "as the reward for their exertions and trophy of their labour," the precious standards that had been lost at Almanza, including no doubt the standards of the Queen's.† Charles determined to retire to Catalonia.

Stanhope was in command of the English forces. On the 6th December he arrived at a place called Brihuega, where he had the misfortune to be surprised by a superior force of the enemy. After a severe fight, in which he lost 300 killed and the same number of wounded, he was taken prisoner with the whole of his force. The Bourbons lost heavily, 900 being killed and 1,800 wounded, sufficiently testifying to the desperate nature of the defence and to the determined nature of the attack. Staremberg, hearing of Stanhope's danger, had advanced to his aid. He arrived at

* Mahon's War of the Spanish Succession, p. 316.

† Mahon's War of the Spanish Succession, p. 328.

6.30 a.m. at a place four miles from the town. Signalling to Stanhope of his arrival, he took up a position on some heights called Villa Viciosa. Vendôme, the capable French General who had succeeded to the command of Phillip's Army, had, as already noted, sent forward a strong detachment and had captured Stanhope and his division. Vendôme himself now coming up, he, on the 10th, prepared to attack Staremburg. A sanguinary fight then took place. Staremburg, though nominally victorious, was so crippled that it was with difficulty he reached his refuge in Tarragona and Barcelona. This retreat was an able piece of strategy, and well worthy of his known skill in warfare. The result of the operations was a victory for Vendôme, which again placed the Bourbon cause in the front.

The death of the Emperor Joseph of Austria in April 1711, gave the Imperial Crown to King Charles, and he was therefore no longer eligible for the throne of Spain. The long war and the drain on the national resources had brought on a feeling of exhaustion, and the English people were also glad of an excuse to terminate a war that had late'y been most disastrous, as it had been most costly. The defeat of the Minister Godolphin and the advent of the Tories gave the required opportunity, the Peace of Utrecht being signed on the 13th April 1713.

A long report* from a Committee of the House of Commons gives particulars of the cause and conduct of the war and its expense. From this report it appears that Eng'and sent in the seven years from 1705 to 1711, 57,973 men to Spain and Portuga', besides thirteen battalions and eighteen squadrons for which the Queen paid a subsidy to the Emperor. The war was estimated to have cost the sum of 10,301,809*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.*, made up as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Charge for the Fleet	6,540,966	14	0
Transports	1,336,719	19	11
Victualling the Forces	583,770	0	0
Contingencies and extraordinaries... ..	1,840,353	0	0
Total	10,301,809	13	11

In Impartial Enquiry, there is an account given of the cost of the war from 1703 to 1710. In this account the sums are given for each year, and are as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Allowed for the year 1703	215,692	2	0
" " 1704	326,481	11	0
" " 1705	476,727	15	10

* Journals of the House of Commons, 1711-1714, Vol. 17.

					£	s.	d.
Allowed for the year 1706	...	...	...	...	726,740	15	10
" " 1707	...	...	...	...	998,322	11	10
" " 1708	...	...	...	...	1,248,956	12	2½
" " 1709	...	...	...	...	1,217,083	0	4
" " 1710	...	...	...	...	1,276,035	16	2
					6,486,040	5	2½
Add. allowed for prisoners in France, pay to second officers, &c.	...	...	...	...	143,753	14	5½
					6,629,793	19	8½
The total issued by the Treasury for carrying on the war in Spain up to this year was					6,659,048	15	11½
If to this is added the cost of the year 1711, estimating it same as 1710 at					1,275,035	0	0
Contingencies					1,840,353	0	0
And victualing the forces					583,770	0	0
					10,358,206	15	11½

The sum is approximately the same as in the other calculations. The two last sums, contingencies and victualing the forces, could only be made up at the end of the war, when all the accounts had been sent in.

On the 29th January instructions were given to Captain John Arnott that he was to repair at once to France, and to apply to Monsieur Charinillard in order to obtain leave to visit the quarters of the English prisoners for the more regular subsisting and taking the necessary care of them. Upon his arrival at their quarters he was, with the assistance of the officers to take an exact account of the commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers of the Queen's forces who were prisoners, and to inform himself of the condition they were in and the treatment they had met with since they were prisoners. After having visited the quarters and caused the prisoners to be reviewed by himself or the officers assisting him, he was to make a distribution of the subsistence money taken with him, which money he was to receive from James Bridges, Paymaster-General of the Forces acting in conjunction with the allies. He was to be careful that only those were to receive subsistence who were actually effective, none absent upon certificate to be considered as effective. He was to also send careful and accurate accounts from time to time of how the money was expended, and where it was not possible to review the men he was to insist on having careful returns sent in to him.*

* War Office, Miscellany Book, 1704-1712, Vol. 519a.

A petition was sent to the Queen on the 15th June by the captains of the regiment, setting forth the hardships they had endured from the time of their being sent to Holland in 1703. They had been obliged, when starting for Holland, to dispose of their equipage and to provide themselves with others without getting any consideration or allowance. Most of the officers having been made prisoners at Almanza, had been put to great trouble to support themselves during their confinement. They had been obliged to contract debts which they now proposed to pay out of the arrears due to them. This petition does not appear to have been considered by the Government till November 23rd, 1709, when Walpole wrote to the Lord Treasurer about it. From this petition it would appear that a warrant regulating the cost of transport was issued on 22nd October 1702. The rates being fixed at 8*l.* per day for a trooper, 5*l.* for a dragoon, and 4*l.* for a foot soldier. The report gives interesting particulars of the amounts of arrears due and charges made, from which it will be seen what a heavy burden was at times borne by the officers.

The terms of imprisonment of the English officers of rank do not seem to have been very strict, as we find from a letter to the English Commissioners of Sick and Wounded, they were ordered to provide transport for Lieutenant-Colonel Percy Kirke and Surgeon Dalrymple to return to France from England, where they had been residing on parole.*

Lord Portmore had been written to on the 22nd June by the War Office, ordering him to give notice to such of his officers as were in England on parole, but whose parole had expired, to immediately prepare themselves to return to their places of confinement in France, "as soon as shipping was ready for their embarkation."†

In a letter of Lord Sunderland's, dated 28th June, to the Commissioners for the Exchange of Prisoners, the Queen consents that the Marquis de Levi have leave to go to France, upon his parole that he will procure the exchanges of Colonels Breton, Hill, and Kirke for him, and that if he is not able to effect it he will return in a month; but the French are to understand that the Queen is willing for this once to allow of an exchange between officers taken on land and one taken at sea. She does by no means intend that it be brought into a precedent, and will not permit the like to be done again.‡

* Domestic State Papers (Secretary), 1707-1709.

† War Office, Common Letter Book, No. 137, pp. 185, 227.

‡ Domestic Entry Book, 1706-1708, Vol. I.

The officers who were in England on parole had to attend at the offices of the sick and wounded, Princes Court, Westminster, where they received their instructions and permission to take their servants with them.

From a letter to Lord Portmore, dated 5th February this year, it would appear that the regiment was, up to that date, in Spain. Considerable activity prevailed in England at this time in raising recruits for completing the regiments cut up at Almanza up to their quotas. On 1st January an account was given to the House of Commons of what numbers were wanting for recruiting the land forces and Marines for the service of the year 1708. From this account it appears that 10,157 men were required for the fourteen battalions "broken at the Battle of Almanza."

On the 24th March Lieutenant Hamilton, of the Queen's, was ordered to attend the War Office, and to bring in writing an account of the numbers of officers belonging to the regiment who were then in England, and how forward the clothing was, and how soon it could be sent to Portsmouth.

It was not till June that thirteen waggons of clothing were sent from London to Portsmouth to be distributed amongst the troops in Spain. After the clothes were embarked in ships at St. Helens, an order came that they were to be transshipped and returned to London, the regiments they were intended for (amongst them the Queen's) being ordered to be now formed in England. This would seem to fix the date when the battalions formed out of the stragglers from Almanza, and commanded by Colonel Honnywood, were reduced. Amongst the particulars given, the cost of the transport of the thirteen waggons of clothing from London to Portsmouth was 26*l.* Shrewsbury appears to have been the principal rendezvous for the recruiting of the new battalion, and was made the depôt for the time. A waggon with an officer and fifty men cost 4*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* to go from London to Shrewsbury, 124 miles. The charge, according to the accounts, being always at the rate of 8*d.* per mile.*

Some particulars are given of the clothing in the Treasury Papers.† "A good full-bodied cloth coat well lined, which may serve for the waistcoat the second year, a pair of good Kersey breeches, a pair of good strong stockings, two good shirts, and two neck cloths, a good hat well laced." It is curious that no shoes are mentioned for first year. The second year a pair of good strong shoes is added, but only one shirt and one neck cloth instead of

* Audit Office, Comptrollers of the Accounts of the Army, 1710-1712.

† These particulars are similar to those settled by general officers in 1706, see p. 339.

two. The waistcoat was to be made out of last year's coat. The accoutrements were to be provided out of the off reckonings. Those lost in action were to be replaced by the colonel, and those spoiled by the captain.*

Shrewsbury continued to be the head quarters of the new battalion, up to the end of the year. Marching orders were issued for detachments to proceed to Shrewsbury in October, November, and December. On the 11th December, Captain Vannersen, one of the newly appointed officers of the regiment, came with a detachment from London, and later in the month seven officers and 180 men marched into Shrewsbury from London.

On 29th July, Lord Portmore received his orders for the raising of recruits for the regiment. The officers appointed by him for the purpose of raising volunteers, "any able-bodied men as shall be raised and levied by justices of the peace," were to be sent on to the rendezvous at Shrewsbury, after having first given notice to the Commissary-General of the Marches.† He was again written to on 8th September, to the effect that his regiment "lately reduced in Spain" was to be again completed in Great Britain, and furnished with the necessary arms. The quota was to be the same as in 1703, viz., thirteen companies of two serjeants, three corporals, two drummers, and fifty-six private men in each. Total twenty-seven serjeants, thirty-nine corporals, twenty-six drummers, and 659 effective men.

Some friction seems to have occurred in appointing the officers who were to serve "en second" during the absence in captivity of the old officers.

On the 28th July a letter was sent by Walpole to Lord Portmore, in which the War Minister assures the Earl* that he "had no thoughts of naming officers 'en second' in his regiment or doing anything but what he had positive orders for, and he hopes by Friday to be able to lay the whole scheme before him, and also Lord Tyrawley and Lieutenant-General Churchill, who are concerned in it and entitled to be consulted."

On the 4th November Lord Portmore received instructions from Whitehall to proceed immediately, with all possible care and dispatch, to raise the recruits that were still wanting to complete the regiment, in order that it might be fit for immediate service. He was also ordered to send in an exact return of the regiment up to the end of the month, for the Queen's information. Her Majesty would then signify her further pleasure.‡

* Treasury Papers, Vol. III., No. 16.

† War Office, Miscellany Book, 1704-1714, Vol. 520.

‡ War Office, Letter Book, 1708-1709, Vol. 138, p. 32.

On the 9th January Lieutenant Ingleby Thorp and twenty men were ordered to march from Malton to Shrewsbury. On the 25th of the same month Ensign Drury and fifty men were sent from Swaffham, in Norfolk, to Shrewsbury.

An order was sent on 10th January to General Erle to "take a review of Lord Portmore's and other regiments," in such place or places as may be made convenient. He was to make a full and particular report on the "clothing, arms, discipline, and goodness of the men," and also to report fully upon the fitness of the officers for their duties.

A curiously misleading letter appears in the War Office, Common Letter Book, dated 8th February.* In this letter it is stated that Colonel Grant's and Lord Strathmore's regiments were to be on pay in the place of Lord Portmore's and Lord Tyrawley's regiments "lately sent to Antwerp." It would appear as if the reference to the Queen's regiment in this letter meant the return of the prisoners, for in the War Office, Miscellany Book, is an entry, dated August, giving notice that all the serjeants, corporals, drummers, and private men taken prisoners at the Battle of Almanza and lately exchanged, "which came from Holland in the packet boats" were required to repair to Colchester or Ipswich in twenty days after date mentioned, where the officers of Colonel Breton's and Lord Hay's regiments were appointed to subsist them.†

The 29th March saw part of the regiment away from Shrewsbury. Two companies were sent to Bridgnorth, two to Wellington, one to Wenlock, and one to Newport. The seven other companies remained at Shrewsbury. Colonel de Boismorel appears to have been in command at Shrewsbury. On the 7th April the regiment was ordered to Salisbury and Winchester, but two days later this order was cancelled, and they were directed to march as follows:—The three companies at Wellington and Newport to Carlisle; the eight companies at Shrewsbury and Wenlock to Berwick; and the two companies at Bridgnorth to Berwick. While on the march, an order was sent to the several detachments for them to halt and be quartered at Newchurch and Gateshead. Two companies had already arrived at Tynemouth, and had to return to Newcastle. On the 12th May they were again on the march, and were quartered at Berwick and Tynemouth, where they remained till 2nd December. Two companies were sent on the 20th December to Alnwick.

It would appear, from the War Office Papers, that the regiment about this time missed an opportunity of foreign service. Early

* War Office, Common Letter Book, No. 138, p. 100.

† War Office, Miscellany Book, 1704-1712, Vol. 519a.

in April they were ordered to embark at Portsmouth for foreign service ; the orders were, however, afterwards changed, and Colonel Dormer's regiment substituted for the Queen's. Churchill's regiment was also ordered for the same service. This may have been for the projected expedition to recover our Settlement at Newfoundland, which had been captured by the French. The proposed expedition was abandoned in May.

The following is a copy of the order referred to :—

SIR,

Whitehall, 6th April 1709.

It is Her Majesty's pleasure that you hold the Reg^t under your com^d in a readiness to March and that you give notice to the Sev^l officers of your Reg^t to provide themselves with Tents and other Field necessaries the Reg^t being designed for foreign service.

I am,

Sir,

Your most Humble Servt.

R. WALPOLE.

On the 21st April the Queen sent for an account of the present strength of the regiment, no doubt with reference to the proposed expedition.

In June the regiment sent a draft from head-quarters at Berwick of 150 men, and on the 14th of the same month another draft was sent to Colonels Dormer's and Churchill's regiments. They were ordered to be taken on board the transports appointed for Lord Mark Kerr's regiment from Holy Island to Hull, "the men being designed for foreign service." Eight companies of the regiment were ordered to march to Berwick on 19th May to relieve Lord Kerr's regiment there.

In June the unfortunate officers and men who had for two years languished in captivity in Spain and France began to arrive in England, arrangements having been completed for their exchange. They had not all returned by September, as we find by an entry in the War Office Books dated 2nd, where it states that most of "the officers taken prisoners at Almanza and lately exchanged having arrived in Great Britain and the rest daily expected, Her Majesty, through Her War Minister, was pleased to order that they should at once supersede the 'second' officers posted to the regiment in their absence." The following is a copy of the order that had been issued on the arrival of the first detachment, addressed to Lord Portmore.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, 6th July 1709.

WHEREAS several officers were appointed en second to the Reg^t under your command to do duty in the room of such which were in Spain or

taken prisoners at the battle of Almanza; and whereas several of the said officers which were then absent have arrived in Great Britain and praying to be posted in your Reg^t according to their commissions. I am therefore to signify to you Her Majesty's pleasure that you post such officers of your Regiment as are lately come from Spain to their respective Companies in the room of those officers en second, which supplied their places, in the manner following, viz.:—It is Her Majesty's pleasure that the officers who have posts in other Reg^t be first removed, and the youngest of these first and the others in the same manner when the prisoners shall be exchanged and arrive in Great Britain.

(Signed) R. WALPOLE.*

The officers so removed were Captains Henry Gunn, Ryley, Vannersen, Sir James Bourke, Fountain, Adam-Gordon, and Captain Lieutenant Bramley; Lieutenants Vaughan, Bourne, Charles Procter, Ingleby Thorp, Bickerstaff, Johnson, and Maidman. Lieutenants Abercrombie and Villiers Tooley were sent to Portsmouth "to be employed immediately abroad." In the margin of the notice paper of the latter officer is a note "killed."

There seems to have been a little trouble with desertion about this time. Several entries appear of parties of the "Queen's" sent to conduct deserters. Colonel Dormer's deserters had to be taken charge of by the officers of the "Queen's," as he had no officers, apparently, available for the duty.

Colonel Dormer appears to have given a power of attorney to Colonel Kirk to contract for his clothing and accoutrements, and to assign his off-reckonings for this purpose. Kirk on his part giving power of attorney to Philip Woodward, of London, packer, to receive the sum of 2,626*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.* from the off reckonings of Colonel Dormer's regiment till the same be fully paid.

On 10th June Lord Portmore was ordered to raise by beat of drum as many men as he required to fill up his regiment to the full quota. "All the Magistrates, &c. whom it may concern are hereby required to be assisting unto him in providing quarters, impressing carriages, and otherwise as there shall be occasion."

A petition was sent in this year from Ensign Robert Kennedy for relief. The petitioner asked that some consideration might be given to him either in employment or compensation for the expenses he had been to by reason of his wounds received at Almanza. Lord Galway and the officers appointed to report on the petition, considered that in view of his active service of nine years in the regiment, and the pains and expenses he had suffered since he had to resign by reason of his wounds, that "he should be employed in

* War Office, Common Letter Book, No. 139, p. 79.

the Army, wherein his services and sufferings justly entitle him to advancement when an opportunity offers.”*

A warrant was issued on 7th August this year for payment of a pension to Ann Philpott, widow of Captain Philpott, who was represented as killed in the defence of Tangiers. At his death the widow was left in very poor circumstances. In her petition for relief she prays, by reason of her age and weakness, she may be admitted to receive the Royal Bounty. She was granted a pension of 26*l.* per annum, to commence from 23rd April 1708.†

The estimated charges for the regiment from the 23rd December 1708 to the same date in 1709, is given as 15,572*l.* 10*s.* for full pay.‡

In the months of January, February, and March several small parties of non-commissioned officers and men were sent from London to the head-quarters of the regiment at Berwick, and Lord Portmore was requested to send an account of the number of recruits wanted to complete his regiment, in order to lay the matter before the House of Commons.

On the 20th March orders were sent to move the regiment to Yorkshire, the six companies at Berwick were to go to Sheffield, the two at Alnwick to Rotherham, the three at Carlisle to Doncaster, and the two at Tynemouth Castle to Pontefract.§ Full particulars are given in the orders as to the route which was to be taken.

This removal was, no doubt, in preparation for the expedition to Canada next year, as they were at the same time ordered to hold themselves in readiness for foreign service.

On the 25th March an order arrived countermanding the orders already received, and substituting Lord Islay's (or Hay's) regiment for the Queen's. The latter being ordered to remain in garrison at Berwick till further orders. The regiment did not leave the north till the beginning of the following year. In May an order was sent to impress waggons to carry arms and clothing for the regiment from London to Newcastle, and from there to Berwick and Carlisle, “the officers paying for the same at the usual rates according to Act of Parliament.” In July an order was issued that the sum of 473*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, charged for arms, should not be stopped out of the clearings of the regiment till further orders.

* War Office, Report Book, 1695-1711.

† War Office, Miscellany Book, 1704-1712, Vol. 519*a.*

‡ Audit Office, Comptrollers of the Army, 1710-1712.

§ Marching Orders, 1709-1710, No. 18.

On the 19th September Lord Portmore retired from the command of the regiment, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Piercy Kirk. The Wentworth Papers contain a curious entry respecting the transfer of the command of the regiment. In a letter dated Twickenham, 12th September 1710, from Peter Wentworth to his brother, he writes, "Lord Portmore has done one good thing for himself, has sold his regiment for 6,000*l.* to Kirk, his Lieutenant-Colonel; of a stranger he could have had 7,000*l.*, as Lord Trelawney (Tyrawley?) told me."*

Lord Portmore had been gazetted on the 28th June General and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Portugal. On the 12th September a letter appears in the War Office Letter Books, with reference to his departure for his command; his secretary desiring to know when his horses and equipages can be sent to Lisbon, as his Lordship "designs to go very soon." A few days later the agents of the regiments in Spain were requested to attend Secretary Walpole, and bring lists of officers who were in England, and to receive Lord Portmore's directions before his departure for Portugal.

The regiment appears to have been badly in want of men at the end of the year. An order was sent to Kirk on the 3rd December, ordering him to recruit, by beat of drum or otherwise, so as to complete the establishment as speedily as possible. On the 26th he was requested to send an account, "upon honour," of the strength of the regiment, which was to be laid before Her Majesty.

Three days later a sharp letter was sent to the commanders of a number of regiments who were below the strength.

In the copy of this circular letter sent to Kirk it is stated that the regiment was at least 250 men under its establishment. The Queen therefore signifies her pleasure that this number be speedily raised. A proper number of officers was to be sent out at once on recruiting service, and Her Majesty informs Kirk that she will "in a short time call for an account of their proceedings, and show her favour or displeasure, as she finds this recruiting more or less vigorously carried on."†

Captain James Abercrombie, of the Queen's, had an encounter in Leicester Fields with a Mr. Robert Nevil some time in May, Abercrombie wounding his adversary, who was at once attended

* The Wentworth Papers, 1705-1739, edited by James L. Cartwright, M.A., p. 141.

† War Office, Letter Book, 3rd October 1710 to 20th April 1711, Vol. 140, p. 83.

to, and ultimately recovered. The officer was taken before a magistrate, Mr. Justice Negus, who, after examination, released him on bail, he having been ordered to rejoin his regiment. On his return to town he found his bail had been estreated. He had some difficulty with the Lords, to whom he appealed, before he could obtain the return of the bail. The two adversaries, after the duel, became reconciled.

CHAPTER XV.

EXPEDITION TO CANADA—DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE.

1711.

CONTENTS.—Regiment removed to Leicester, Nottingham, &c.—Marched to Tilbury Fort for embarkation to Canada—Sir James Bourke's Petition—List of Regiments destined for Expedition to Canada—Preparations for embarkation—Instructions to Governors of New York and Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire—General Hill's Instructions—Charge for Arms—Departure of the Fleet and Transports, under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker—Strength of Fleet—Arrival at Nantasket Bay near Boston—Admiral and General received at Boston—General Nicholson arrives—Difficulties thrown in the way of Expedition by the Colonists—Annapolis Royal attacked by French and Indians—The Council of the Province advise that relief be sent—Colonel Dudley arrives from New London with Minutes of Council of War—Troops land on Nodles Island—Hostility of the Inhabitants—Their designs to injure the Expedition—General Hill reviews the Troops—Arrival of Indians at the Camp—Re-embarkation of the Troops—Punishment of Deserters from the Regiment—Mohawk Indians arrive at Camp—Departure of Fleet—Arrive at Gaspé Bay, at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence—Wreck of a large portion of the Fleet—List of the losses—Terrible state of the Survivors—Details of the Disaster—Council of War held—The Council decide it was impracticable to attack Quebec—Prepare to attack Placentia—Arrive at Spanish River on 4th September—Council of War decide that the attempt on Placentia is impracticable—Critical state of the Garrison of Annapolis Royal—General Hill sends Reinforcements—Letters in the Treasury Papers relative to the disastrous Expedition—Cost of the Expedition—Strength of Garrison of Annapolis Royal—Particulars of the Garrison from Audit Office Comptroller's Accounts—Arrival of the Fleet at Portsmouth—Instructions for the disposal of the Troops—Queen's land at Portsmouth, Plymouth, Falmouth, and Minehead—Quarters of Regiment moved to Lancashire—Sick sent to Leamington—The Queen orders the Master of the Ordnance to consider the claims of the shipwrecked Regiments to be paid for their losses—Orders by the Duke of Marlborough for recruiting—Kirk ordered to recruit the Regiment—Allowances by the Commissioners of Victualling to the Troops from Canada—Regiment ordered to Edinburgh to relieve Third Foot Guards—Petition of Colonels of the Regiments who were in Canada for reimbursement for Losses sustained—Petitions of Marines—Great cost of Annapolis Royal Garrison—Reduction in strength of Regiment—

Clothing for Regiment—List of Officers “en second”—Companies of the Regiment ordered to Tyne, Hull, and Carlisle, to relieve the Companies of Colonel Clayton’s Regiment—Kirk ordered to send a List of disbanded Men, and also the strength of the Regiment—Annual Cost of the Regiment—Peace of Utrecht—Overthrow of the Marlborough-Godolphin Ministry—Illness of the Queen—Movements of the detached Companies—French at Annapolis Royal—The Detachment at Annapolis Royal formed into independent Companies—Reduction of the Regiment—New Establishment of the Regiment—Officers on Half-pay of Regiment—Establishment of Regiment again altered—Cost of Regiment—Cost of Company at Bermuda—List of Officers on leave—State of Political Parties—Reward offered for apprehending the Pretender—Dismissal of the Earl of Oxford—Lord Bolingbroke becomes Prime Minister—Death of Queen Anne—Accession of George I.—Designation of Regiment changed in consequence—Disturbances in Carlisle—Regulation of Subsistence Account—Company sent to Tweedmouth—Assignment of the Off-reckonings of the Regiment for Clothing—Cost of Clothing—Memorial of General Hill and Colonels for Payment of Subsistence Money owing on Canadian Expedition—Reduction in the Regiment.

On the 10th January the regiment was removed from its then quarters in the north and ordered to march to Leicester, Nottingham, Harborough, Melton Mowbray, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and Loughborough. On arriving at the latter place, they found an order directing them to continue their march, and to proceed to Ware, Hertford, St. Albans, Dunstable, Luton, Hatfield, and Hoddesdon.

On the 26th January Sir James Bourke sent a petition to the Treasury Lords, setting forth that, being a captain in Lord Portmore’s regiment, and having raised his own company, together with 100 supernumeraries, at his own costs and charges, and at the request of Lord Portmore and his lieutenant-colonel, Andrew de Boismorell, “they, the said officers, promising that bounty money and subsistence should be paid him from the date of their respective certificates, he had applied to Lord Portmore for the money. The said Lord had ordered William Hamilton, agent to the regiment, to pay him these costs.” The agent not doing as he was ordered, Sir James Bourke applied for a court-martial to compel him to pay the amount. The court finding against the agent, he was ordered to reimburse. It does not appear by the papers that even then the obstinate agent was induced to part with the money which was due to the officer of the regiment.

On the 10th March the regiment was ordered to march to Tilbury Fort, on the Thames, where transports were waiting to convey them to Canada, as part of the force of 5,000 men destined for the expedition which was to proceed there under the command of General Hill. A later letter ordered Kirk, on arriving at

Tilbury, to embark the regiment at once on board such transport ships as might be appointed to receive them.*

On the 3rd March a letter had been received by Kirk and the other commanding officers, signifying that the Queen had given directions that they should at once see that their regiments were provided with camp necessities, and be put into a condition for foreign service.

The regiments destined for the service were Lieutenant-General Seymour's, Colonel Kirk's, Colonel Disney's, Brigadier Hill's, Colonel Clayton's, Colonel Kane's, Colonel Windresse's, and Colonel Grant's.

Kirk's, Disney's, and Seymour's regiments were in England, the others were to be sent home from Holland. Half a battalion of Marines accompanied the expedition.

A warrant received on the 24th March by Brigadier Hill, gave him orders that as the regiments arrived at the rendezvous at Spithead, he was, "in regard to the service required," to see that the companies in each were of the full complement, that was, one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, three sergeants, three corporals, two drummers, and fifty-six private men, servants included. Each regiment was to have twelve companies. Colonel Disney's regiment, according to the terms of the warrant, appears to have been very deficient. General Hill was ordered to reduce Colonel Grant's regiment, to make up his complement. Colonel Grant's regiment was also to be drawn upon for such other companies of the other regiments as were deficient. Levy money was to be paid to Colonel Grant, to enable him to replace the drafts. This levy money was fixed at 4*l.* per man. Satisfaction was to be made for the value of the clothes, arms, and accoutrements which the drafted men took with them.

Lieutenant-Colonel Arnott was appointed Deputy Paymaster, in conjunction with Brigadier Hill, for the expedition.†

In an estimate of the land forces in Great Britain at the end of the year, the number in Kirk's regiment is given as 876. The usual chest of medicines, "as well internal as external," was ordered to be provided for the regiment, and, in the same letter, it was ordered that the officers were to have an advance of pay of six weeks, "to put themselves in a fit state for going

* War Office, Miscellany Book, 1704-1712, Vol. 519*a*, 1710/11, March 17, and Domestic State Papers, 1711, March to May, No. 6, 1710/11, March 3.

† War Office, Miscellany Book, 1704-1714, Vol. 520, 1711, April 10.

to sea." All possible despatch was to be made in clearing the regiments of Colonel Kirk and Lieutenant-General Seymour.

Kirk was to send in an account of officers absent from their commands in his regiment, "the reason of such absence, and the time they have been for."

Before leaving England Kirk gave power of attorney to Captain Robert Gardiner, empowering him to receive payments from the Paymaster-General, and to contract for clothing, receiving the off-reckonings of the regiment. He was also to have power to act for him in all payments or debts during his absence abroad. The regiment is said to have embarked 700 strong.*

The transports appointed to convey the Queen's were the *Loyal Merchant* and the *Willing Mind*. Colonel Kane superintended the embarkation of the regiments from Holland, and Colonel Clayton was appointed to superintend the embarkation of the troops in England.

The latter officer was ordered to keep up a constant correspondence with Colonel Kane. Careful and precise instructions were forwarded to Robert Turner, governor of New York "and the territories depending thereon, in America,"† and to Joseph Dudley, Captain-General of the provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, giving them the particulars of the expedition, and cautioning them to conceal the movement of the troops, so that the enemy might not learn their action. Arms and accoutrements were sent on board the Fleet. Amongst other stores, besides the arms and accoutrements, there were sent 2,000 cartouch boxes, slings, knapsacks, and bayonets, 1,670 swords, and forty-seven and a half dozen of tomahawks.

The transports and ships of war ought, according to the arrangements, to have started by the end of March, but they did not leave till the end of April and the beginning of May.

The governor of Connecticut was advised of the expedition, and warned to give it all the assistance in his power.

A letter was sent in April to Secretary St. John and General Hill, urging them to be careful that the regiments were complete before going on the expedition.

Before leaving Spithead General Hill sent a letter to the authorities, complaining of the subsistence money not being paid to the non-commissioned officers of Kirk's and Kane's regiments who had been prisoners in France.

* MSS. of the Queen's, Royal United Service Institution.

† Domestic Letter Book, 1710-1711.

He strongly advised that the money should be paid to them at once, adding "I need not represent to you the ill consequences of going abroad with discontented troops."*

The Queen's and Disney's regiments appear to have been delayed in their passage down the Thames. Kirk, just before starting, had some difficulty in paying for the arms delivered to him out of the stores. A bill of 1,487*l.* for arms was sent in to him, about which he writes, "it puts them under great difficulties, and may be of ill consequences to the service at this time."† He represented to the authorities that there was actually a balance of pay and allowances due to the regiment sufficient to answer this charge. The matter was at his earnest request ordered to stand over till the accounts were adjusted. The brigadier also wrote to the War Office that he had been obliged to draw upon the authorities for arrears of subsistence due to the regiment.

By the 27th April all the troops were on board, but the wind being easterly the Fleet was unable to set out. They appear to have sailed on the 29th April.

In the Admiralty List Book, under date May 1711 the following ships are mentioned as "being at Plymouth, going on a foreign service, under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker, rear-admiral of the White":—Third rate—Edgar (Sir Hovenden Walker on board), Torbay, Humber, Devonshire, Monmouth, Surprise; Fourth rate—Dunkirk, Sunderland, Kingston, and Montague, and the bomb ships Granada and Basilisk."‡ Another authority gives the strength of the Fleet as four men-of-war, one frigate, two bomb vessels and their tenders, thirty-three transports, with seven battalions of Line regiments and a battalion of Marines, with the addition of eight transports and tenders belonging to the train.§

The Fleet and transports, after an uneventful voyage, arrived at Nantasket Bay, within two leagues of Boston, on the 24th June. The next day, the secretary of the province of New England, with a committee of the council (in the absence of the governor), came on board the Devonshire, and invited the brigadier and the admiral to the town of Boston, where they were received with "the ceremonies usual on such occasions." Lieutenant-General Nicholson, who had been appointed to command the forces

* Domestic, Secretary's Letter Book, 1710-1711. (Domestic, various.)

† War Office, Common Letter Book, No. 142, p. 16.

‡ Admiralty List Book, 1st January 1710, to December 1711, Vol. 12.

§ Conjoint Expeditions, pp. 160-166.

ordered to be raised in America, had arrived on the 8th June, with the ships *Leopard* and *Sapphire* and the *Joseph* and *Neptune* transports.

On his arrival he found no news had been received of the *Kingston* and *Mary* transports, laden with stores for the use of the forces he was to raise in America. He therefore determined, in order that no time might be lost, to send the transports brought with him to New York, with orders to bring back a full cargo of provisions from that place.

The inhabitants of New England did not, apparently, look upon the expedition with favour, in fact their indifference went very nearly to open hostility. All kinds of difficulties were thrown in the way of the generals. The flat-bottomed boats mentioned by Colonel Dudley, governor of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, as being necessary for disembarking the troops and carrying on a siege, were not ready. Colonel King, in command of the train, was thereupon ordered to take upon him the direction of that work. Bad news had been received from the garrison at Annapolis Royal. They had been attacked by a party of French and Indians, with the result that though the place was still in our hands, a considerable number of the garrison had been killed and taken prisoners. Two sloops that had been sent there with letters and provisions had had to return for want of a convoy. Hill at once made arrangements to send a detachment to relieve the Annapolis garrison. The next day, the 26th June, the secretary of the province and a committee of the council, waited upon the general, and represented to him the danger Annapolis Royal was in of being captured by a French man-of-war that was hovering about. They strongly advised that an English man-of-war should be at once despatched to the place to bring away Colonel Veitch and Colonel Whitten, in order that council might be taken with them on the matter of the defence of that important post. The next day Colonel Dudley arrived, and handed to the commander-in-chief the minutes of the council of war, "lately held at New London, in pursuance of Her Majesty's instructions."

In the afternoon the troops of the expedition were landed on Nodles Island.

Before long the hostility of the inhabitants began to take an active form. It was found necessary (as the merchants made the most unreasonable demands for their assistance, and even went so far as to hide provisions rather than sell them to the troops) to issue a proclamation to make search for provisions amongst the inhabitants. This was not the only way the people endeavoured

to embarrass the expedition. They also did all they could to persuade the troops to desert. The loss thus caused had to be filled up by negroes, who, though anxious to serve, were not considered by the officers reliable. After a short trial they were discharged.

The difficulties of settling with the people for the provisions required became at last so great, that the governor and council decided that the exchange should be settled at forty per cent., and they also regulated the prices of provisions at a rate considerably reduced from that charged by the people. This so enraged them, that they threatened to starve the troops.

The governor, Colonel Dudley, on the 1st July informed Hill that the forces that had been raised in the provinces were drawing near their rendezvous. He requested that the arms and accoutrements might be got ready to issue to them.

On the 10th July the general reviewed the troops on Nodles Island. He found them in good order and fairly healthy, only 180 being in hospital, and most of them in a fair way of recovery. The colonels of some of the regiments complained bitterly of the people of the country having "debauched several of their soldiers, and favoured their desertion."

On the 14th July General Hill reviewed two regiments of New England forces, and in the evening of the same day Lieutenant-General Nicholson arrived with Colonel Veitch from Annapolis Royal. Another circumstance now began to trouble the troops, the wells on Nodles Island gave out, and it was necessary to employ the transports to bring in water to the troops.

After great difficulty General Hill managed to obtain provisions for the troops, but the difficulties—entirely unexpected—he had met with from the people of the province in this and other matters, had caused so much delay in the operations, that the success of the expedition was from the first imperilled.

On the 18th July a sachem, or chief of the New York Indians, arrived at Boston, to ascertain for his tribe whether the news he had heard of the arrival of the expedition was true. The general himself received him, and after making him a present of clothes, sent him on to Nodles Island to see the troops. He was afterwards regaled in the camp, and returned well pleased, after professing loyalty to the Queen. On his return to his tribe with the news, he was welcomed with great joy by the Indians, who sang their war songs all night.

After the greatest exertions the provisions for the expedition were got together, and on the 18th preparations were made to embark the troops.

In the evening Captain Harrison, aide-de-camp to the general, arrived at Boston, with the welcome news that the *Kingston* and the *Mary* transports for New York had got safely into that place after a tedious voyage. A letter was also received from Colonel Hunter that the Province galley, with the *Joseph* and *Neptune*, transports, had safely arrived at New York.

Thomas Henley, a private in Major Culliford's regiment who had deserted and been recaptured, was tried, and, being found guilty, was sentenced to be hanged in front of all the troops on Nodles Island.

On the evening of the 19th orders were issued that the troops were to embark early in the morning of the next day, which was accordingly accomplished, with the exception of 300 men and officers of the Queen's. The transport for these men being found leaky was ordered to be exchanged for one named the *Queen Anne*. The brigadier, however, not wishing to delay the departure of the troops by waiting for this transport, which had to be got ready, decided to put these 300 men and officers on board the men-of-war. Colonel Kirk readily agreed to this distribution of his men, but Admiral Walker only consented to take them after some debate. The next day General Hill and Admiral Walker issued an order offering a free pardon to all the deserters if they would at once return to the service. The Fleet with the troops did not sail for ten days after they were all on board. The old difficulty of provisions was still troubling them.

On the 24th the ship with the troops from Rhode Island arrived. They had been furnished with clothes and muskets, but wanted bayonets, swords, and cartouch boxes, which were not in store there, an extraordinary omission, which, in the report, is vaguely excused by a reference to Rhode Island not being thought to be a distinct government, no provision had therefore been made for the troops raised there. General Hill, in spite of their only being half equipped, ordered them to join the expedition.

On the 22nd the governor brought some Mohogues (Mohawks), which he said were the chiefs of "five nations," to see the general, who received them well and "encouraged them to join the troops at the Wood Creek." The Indians were well entertained, and viewed the troops and men-of-war, after which speeches were made and presents exchanged. The Indians then returned to New York. While waiting to sail, many desertions took place from the transports and men-of-war. Six men of Seymour's regiment were tried and shot, three were whipped, and one acquitted.

The crew of the Province galley was taken to supply the deficiencies caused by the desertions in the ships, and on the

morning of the 30th of July the expedition set sail with a fair wind for the River St. Lawrence.

The Fleet made a good passage to Gaspé Bay, a harbour on the extreme point of land of the province of Quebec at the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and opposite to Anticosti Island. The wind not being fair for rounding the point into the gulf, the Fleet went into the bay and remained anchored there till the 20th, when they again put to sea. By the 22nd the whole Fleet, men-of-war and transports, were in the mouth of the river, and all were hoping for a quick and fair passage to Quebec. In the evening, a fresh gale having sprung up and the pilots being evidently false or ignorant (many said the former), a large portion of the Fleet was driven on shore, on the north side of the gulf, near a place called Egg Island—not shown on the maps. From the description given by the survivors it must have been a dreadful sight. The transports, Marlborough, Smyrna, Merchant, Colchester, Samuel and Ann, Isabell Ann and Catherine, Chatham, Nathaniel and Eliza, John and Sarah were wrecked, with 740 officers and men, besides women and children. The following is a list of the officers and men lost :

A REPORT of the Officers, Soldiers, &c. lost.

—	Sergts.	Corpls.	Drums.	Men.	Women.	Total.
<i>Seymour's Regiment.</i>						
Major Fish - - -	10	18	13	167	20	228
Major Walker - - -						
Capt. Stringer - - -						
Capt. Bush - - -						
Capt. Lt. Lehulle - - -						
Ensign Ryde - - -						
Ens. Hawker - - -						
Ens. Richardson - - -						
Ens. Loggan - - -						
Mr. Redix, Qr. Mr. - - -						
Mr. Young, Surgeon - - -						
<i>Col. Windrose's Regiment.</i>						
Major Cartey - - -	14	—	8	231	—	253
Capt. Lt. Bissell - - -						
Lt. Brown - - -						
Lt. Kent - - -						
Lt. Crofton - - -						
Lt. Langhan - - -						
Ens. Bird - - -						

* America and West Indies, Canada Expedition, No. 58.

A REPORT of the Officers, Soldiers, &c. lost—continued.

—	Sergts.	Corpls.	Drums.	Men.	Women.	Total.	
<i>Col. Kane's Regiment.</i>							
Lt.-Col. Barton - - -	6	—	4	134	15	159	
Capt. Twisden - - -							
Lt. Gibbons - - -							
Lt. Lepy - - -							
Lt. Frin - - -							
Ens. O'Neile - - -							
Ens. Ekins - - -							
Chaplain Woodside - -							
<i>Col. Clayton's Regiment.</i>							
Capt. Chorlton - - -	4	—	2	65	—	71	
Capt. Pinder - - -							
Capt. Thomas - - -							
Total.	34	13	27	597	35	Perished in all 740, including the officers.	
							Lieut.-Colonel - 1
							Majors - 1*
							Captains - 10*
							Lieutenants - 7
							Ensigns - 8
							Surgeon - 1
Chaplain - 1							
Officers in all	29						

* In these totals two of the Majors are entered as Captains. Qr. Master Redex is entered as Busign.

The whole Fleet, including the men-of-war, were for a time in great danger. Besides the vessels named above, they lost several flats of clothing, a large quantity of provisions, which were in the transports, and three ships laden with corn, which had been bought in Boston before the arrival of provisions from New York.

The next day, as soon as it was light, the Leopard and some sloops proceeded to the scene of the disaster, where they found six and twenty companies of Seymour's, Windresse's, Clayton's, and Kane's regiment lying scattered about. Those not drowned were so mangled and bruised by the rocks as to be quite unfit for further service. An officer on board the Leopard, lying in the Spanish River, thus writes of the disaster :—" Our Fleet going up the river of Canada has met with a most fatal accident, whether it be ignorance or carelessness in our admiral, or by what means I know not. The Fleet, in a fresh gale, on the 21st August, about twelve at night, ran ashore on the north side of the river at a place called Egg Island. By God's great providence but some ships are lost of the whole seventy-five ships, but no man-of-war is lost. The forces cast away are computed to be about 15,00 men, officers and

soldiers, of which number about 200 were found alive on shore. The regiments that suffered most were Colonel Seymour's and Colonel Windreil's (Windresse's). The ship I was in, with all Rhode Island men, was in the midst of the breaches among the Red (*sic*): but Providence has saved us. The next day the Admiral ordered a man-of-war to find a harbour and to bring off all that were alive on the shore, which has been effected. Eight or ten vessels besides ours lost the Fleet. The next night, not seeing any signal made by the admiral, who bore away for this river, we turned up, believing he was sailed for Canada, notwithstanding the loss, but the winds being against us forced us to the same place where the ships suffered, and the Leopard lay to take up the men. We came to anchor and went ashore, when, to our surprise, we learnt the Fleet was come this way, and the expedition broke; such a dismal spectacle was never seen, nine ships torn to pieces and the bodies of twelve or thirteen hundred brave men with women and children lying in heaps on the shore."* The men of the Queen's escaped the disaster, not a man was lost.

A consultation of the sea officers of the Fleet was held on the 25th August in the River St. Lawrence, when it was unanimously resolved, that by reason of the ignorance of the pilots it was wholly impracticable to go up the River St. Lawrence with the men-of-war and the transports as far as Quebec, "as also the uncertainty and rapidity of the currents, as by fatal experience they have proved."

After hearing the opinion of the seamen, General Hill and the colonels of the regiments held a council of war, and it was decided that as they could not get up to Quebec, the expedition should at once proceed to some place in order to get the remainder of the troops in order, and that an attempt should be made to get possession of Placentia in Newfoundland. The admiral at first thought that Gaspé Bay was the best place for reorganising the troops, but upon reconsideration it was decided to go to Cape Breton Island, and to come to an anchor in the Spanish River, which was nearly opposite Placentia Bay. Accordingly, they set sail on the 25th August from the St. Lawrence, arriving at Spanish River on the 4th September. Here they were again met with disappointments and delays.

The Kingston, which had been sent to convoy some store ships with provisions from New York, joined them, but, alas, without the store ships. Upon this disappointment, a council of war of sea and land officers was held on the 8th September, in which the state of provisions was considered. The members of the council of war

* America and West Indies, Canada Expedition, No. 52.

(which was held on board H.M.S. Edgar) were Sir Hovenden Walker, President; sea officers, Captains Soames, Mitchell Arris, Walton, Gore Paddon, Windor, Cockburn and Cooke; land officers, the Right Honourable John Hill, general of the troops in North America, Colonels Charles Churchill, Windresse, Kempenfelt, Clayton, Kirk, Disney and Kane, and Colonels Veitch and Walton, colonels of the forces raised in New England. The twenty-first article of the instructions of Her Majesty to General Hill, together with the tenth article of the admiral's instructions for the same purpose, was read to the council, as also a letter of Colonel Dudley, governor of New England, touching the lateness of the preparations of provisions now making in his colony. The council, after consideration of the position, and giving full value to the opinions of the members of the council who knew the country, unanimously passed the following resolution, viz., that they were "of opinion that the attempt for reducing Placentia under the circumstances and difficulties above mentioned, is at this time altogether impracticable, and that it is (best) for Her Majesty's service that the squadron and transports with the British troops do forthwith return to Great Britain, and the forces raised in New England to that country."*

A careful calculation had shown that there were only victuals sufficient to last the expedition for ten weeks at short allowance, and with no chance of obtaining supplies at Placentia, the situation was considered critical. On the 8th September they saw in the offing some ships coming in, and expectation was high that they were the missing store ships; they proved, however, to be some prizes taken from the French. The captains of the prizes brought news that Colonel Hunter had sent some provisions by way of New London. They also brought some letters of the French that had been intercepted, which showed that the garrison of Annapolis was in danger of being attacked. General Hill immediately got ready a detachment of 350 men and stores, with a proportionate number of officers, and a company of Mohawk Indians, placing the whole under the command of Major Caulfield, whom he appointed at the same time deputy governor. An engineer accompanied the expedition, and it having been strongly urged upon General Hill the advisability of having a man-of-war to protect the garrison, Admiral Walker was desired to select a ship from amongst the Fleet to be sent with the troops.

General Hill, writing to Lord Dartmouth, giving an account of their movements since leaving Nantasket Bay, finishes his letter, "I have only now to add that I am sensibly afflicted for the loss

* America and West Indies, Canada Expedition, 1710-1713, No. 58, No. 47.

of so many of Her Majesty's troops, and the great disappointment which this disaster has occasioned to your hopes of success, and my endeavours for promoting this service all that was in my power."

Interesting letters appear in the Treasury Papers with reference to this disastrous and abortive expedition. On the 12th November a letter was sent to the Lord Treasurer, in which the writer lamented keenly the miscarriage of the expedition, which, he says, "had put the colonies bordering on Canada in the worst circumstances, and hazarded the going off of the nations in Her Majesty's obedience to the French, and had exposed our frontier to the insults of the scalping party of our enemy." One of the pilots that had been engaged was said to belong to Connecticut, and has been examined by the Assembly. This man and another were to be sent over to England to be examined by the Queen, so that she might be able to "have the manner of the misfortune truly stated, and in order that there might be pilots ready in case the Queen should renew the expedition by sending a Fleet directly to Quebec without touching at Boston as the Earl did."*

In the accounts of Lieutenant-Colonel Arnott, paymaster of the forces, for the subsistence of the troops in the expedition, the total sum charged being 22,614*l.* 1*s.*, the amount charged for the Queen's regiment for 139 days from the 6th June to the 22nd October is 31*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* per diem (abating 225*l.* 13*s.* for officers in England), or a total of 4,189*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* There are other numerous items of accounts for the expedition, including costs of medicines, purchase of ships, of provisions, &c., &c. These are called extraordinary contingencies, and amounted to 4,238*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.*

Another account gives various items of the expense of the expedition, which is said to be "out of contributions of the act of Lottery, anno 1711."

	£
Upon account for service thereof	8,000
Three months' pay in advance to the general and staff officers, to enable them to equip themselves for their voyage	1,414
Brigadier Hill's equipage	1,000
Contributions to redeem deposits advanced for service of expedition	4,823
For arms and accoutrements	28,036
Subsistence for officers' families	823
Contributions to the 5th Regiment returned	2,000
Subsistence of returned regiment to enable them to recruit	1,183

A memorial was sent in early in the following year from the officers of the regiment praying for redress for the loss of their

* Calendar of Treasury Papers, Vol. 140, No. 19.

equipage. Another memorial was sent praying that the detachments at Annapolis Royal might be made independent of the regiment.

The strength of the detachment of the Queen's left at Annapolis Royal was one lieutenant, one ensign, two sergeants, two corporals, one drummer, and forty-eight men, with two officers' servants. The total strength of the Annapolis Royal detachment (of all regiments) was, at the beginning of next year, 337. The number of men that had been sent from each regiment was fifty, their arms being fifty firelocks and fourteen halberds for each detachment.

Annapolis Royal, in Nova Scotia, a colony founded by the French in 1604, stands on the south side of the river and bay of Annapolis, which is entered from the Bay of Fundy. It is a splendid harbour, but the entrance through the narrow channel called Digby Gut is difficult. The basin when reached is seen to be capacious enough to float a large fleet, and the scenery around indescribably beautiful. The river, at whose mouth the town is built, runs through a valley of wondrous beauty, a veritable Arcadia. The early history of the place is a troublous one, its beauty and the safety of its incomparable harbour tempting sea rovers to pillage and take shelter there. From 1627, when one Kirke sailed with a Fleet from England to destroy the French Settlements in Nova Scotia, it continued to be a bone of contention between the two nations. The place changed hands four times before its capture in 1680 by the English, who the same year lost it. It changed hands again and again, until its final capture on the 2nd October 1710 by the English, after a gallant and heroic resistance by the French garrison. After the garrison was taken possession of by the English, in compliment to the Queen its name was changed from Port Royal to Annapolis Royal. In the Treaty of Utrecht the Acadia or Nova Scotia was finally surrendered to the English.

The train of artillery formed to garrison the place, and another later on sent to Placentia, were two of the permanent trains used as arguments in 1716 for establishing a permanent Artillery regiment, and these places may therefore claim to be almost the birthplace of the Royal Regiment of Artillery.*

In the years 1715, 1716, and 1717 considerable correspondence took place with reference to the hardships the independent companies at Annapolis Royal endured by reason of their want of pay.

* History of the Royal Artillery, Duncan, Vol. I., p. 77.

In the report of the comptrollers on the several points, they write, that the garrison of Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal, was taken from the French in October 1710 by a detachment of Marines and country troops of New England, under the command of Colonel Nicholson. Colonel Veitch was, by command of the Queen, appointed governor, and by directions of a council of war 250 New England troops and 200 Marines and "matrosses" (*sic*) were placed there as garrison, with such provisions as the men of-war could leave for their maintenance. The governor had apparently great difficulties in provisioning the detachment, as it was some time before the details of the establishment were settled in England; he was, therefore, obliged to engage the services of Mr. Borland, of Boston.

When the establishment was settled on the 25th August 1712, it does not appear that his difficulties were much lessened, for the men had become used to having both the regulated amount of pay and provisions also. This appears to have been usual with the New England troops when on service, and the governor had not failed to send notice of the practice to the authorities, with the remark that he could not make any alteration in an affair of such consequence, which might have occasioned the mutiny of the garrison. In fact there appears to have been an actual danger of this at one time, for, disturbances having began, the governor had to draw out the garrison and to promise that they should have both pay and provisions. He further had to direct their officers to supply them with shoes, stockings, brandy, and other necessaries, "as far as their pay would go over and above their provisions upon such credit as they could get there." In consequence of this order the officers got largely in debt. The amount owing to Major Caulfield, of the Queen's detachment, being 982*l.* 8*s.* 1½*d.*, and the total debt of the garrison 2,935*l.* 6*s.* 10½*d.* The comptrollers recommended that these sums should be paid to the officers out of the respites due to the several regiments.

Complaints having been made of the exorbitant amount charged by Mr. Borland, which was at the rate of 7½*d.* per day for each officer and soldier, it was reduced to a little over 5*d.* per day. Mr. Borland, in excuse for this great difference, pleaded that his charges were in time of war, after there had been a great consumption of provisions by the force employed in the Canada expedition, and also that the prices of provisions ruled high in consequence of a bad harvest. As it is stated, later on in the report, that 4*d.* per day per man was the price that was always allowed by the garrison formerly at Newfoundland, it would appear as if the complaint of Mr. Borland's charges was not

unfounded. Mr. Muncaster appears to have been the agent who ultimately, in 1717, arranged and settled the officers' accounts.*

The Fleet, returning with the expedition, arrived at Portsmouth about the 10th October. Letters were sent on the 9th to Captain Gardiner, who was acting for Kirk's regiment, announcing that the Fleet, with the regiments on board, was daily expected. On the 14th a letter was sent, giving a list of the seven regiments that were to be landed at Portsmouth from the Fleet. The regiments, after having "refreshed in those quarters," were to be given orders for their march to other quarters which were assigned to them. Instructions were sent to the authorities to afford the sick all necessary accommodation in Portsmouth till they could be removed. Captain Gardiner was instructed to apply for subsistence for the regiments against their coming ashore to enable them to march. Letters were also sent to the governor of Portsmouth ordering him to expedite the disembarkation of the troops, having regard to the fact that they had been so long on shipboard. Orders were sent to General Hill, giving him instructions as to the disposal of his forces in case they should land at either Falmouth, Plymouth, or Portsmouth. The Queen's were landed in detachments at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Falmouth; a detachment that had landed at Minehead was ordered to march to Worcester. The quarters of the regiment were fixed at Lymington, Christchurch, Ringwood, Fordingbridge, Wimborn, Minster, Blandford, Duneton', and Cranborne. The strength of the regiment on landing was thirty-seven sergeants, twenty-five drummers, and 307 corporals and private men.

About the end of the year the regiment was moved northwards and stationed in Lancashire, about Manchester, Preston, Wigan, and Warrington. The sick that had been left at Portsmouth were, on the 20th December, marched to Leamington, where they were ordered to remain till they received further orders.

The pecuniary position of the shipwrecked regiments was in December laid before the Queen. The whole of the arms and accoutrements of the soldiers who were shipwrecked having been lost with them, it was represented to Her Majesty that it would be a great hardship to them if they were required out of their own costs to make good this loss, which had occurred in the Queen's service. Her Majesty ordered the Master of the Ordnance to consider these claims, and to adjust them as he thought reasonable.†

* Audit Office, Comptrollers of the Accounts of the Army, 1716-1722.

† War Office, Common Letter Book, No. 142, p. 42.

On the 14th December orders were sent by the Duke of Marlborough to the several colonels of the regiments in Great Britain (particularly those that were employed on the expedition to Canada) for recruiting their respective regiments, and putting them in a condition of service against the spring. The necessary orders were sent for the recruits to be raised by beat of drum, and for the appointment of the recruiting officers in the several counties. For the more effectual performance of this service in respect to the Canada regiments, it was considered necessary, as soon as the muster rolls were closed and returned, that an exact account should be taken of the non-effectives, and that levy-money should be issued at the usual rate of 4*l.* a man for the men that were wanting to complete.*

A letter was sent to Kirk on the same date, ordering him to recruit his regiment with all possible diligence.

There appears to have been some difficulty with the Commissioners of Victualling, with respect to the allowance to the women of the regiments that had served in the expedition to Canada. The commissioners did not think they were authorised to pay the allowances disputed unless particular orders were produced. On Lord Dartmouth representing the matter to the Queen, she directed that the "same allowance on this head as had been customary" should be made; the proportion was to be three or four women to each company.†

A number of letters had been sent from the War Office in the month of January concerning the recruiting, and also the clothing, of the regiments in Great Britain, "particularly those lately returned from Canada." Reports of progress were ordered to be sent in every ten days or fortnightly.

On the 19th February orders were received for the regiment to march from their "present quarters at Preston, Kirkham, Ormskirk, Wigan, Manchester, and Warrington," to Edinburgh and Leith to relieve the 3rd Foot Guards. A letter was sent on 21st February to Colonel Kirk from the War Office, giving him details of his march, and informing him that he was to halt on his way at Berwick. A letter followed on the 24th to the lieutenant-governor at Berwick, directing him as to the disposal of the regiment while at Berwick, and giving orders for their march to Edinburgh.‡

Subsistence was ordered to be provided for the regiment while on the march, to enable them "to discharge their quarters and

* War Office, Report Book, 1695-1711, P.R.O.

† Domestic Entry Book, 1711-1712, Vol. 3.

‡ War Office, Common Letter Book, No. 143, p. 135.

persue their order of march, which was to be done speedily.”* The Guards, on being relieved by the Queen's, were ordered to return to London for duty in guarding the Queen.

A petition was presented to the Queen on the 25th March from the colonels of the four regiments, Seymour's, Windresse's, Clayton's, and Kane's, praying for relief in consideration of the loss of their arms and accoutrements in the late disastrous expedition to Canada. In this petition it is mentioned “that the transport ships that were lost being beaten to pieces on their first running ashore, all the arms, bayonets, halberds, drums, and tents of 26 companies were entirely lost.” The number of the companies in the different regiments enumerated were: Lieutenant-General Seymour's, thirteen companies; Colonel Windresse's, six; Colonel Clayton's, three; and Colonel Kane's, four and one-third companies, Grenadiers included. The estimate of the loss is given as 2,728*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*†

Following this is a petition of some Marines, belonging to the Eagle transport, for some recognition by the Crown of their success in saving the lives of 167 soldiers of Lieutenant-General Seymour's regiment. It appears that these Marines, at great risk and with much daring, took the sea in small boats belonging to their ships, and, rowing to the shore where the transport Colchester (which had Seymour's troops on board) had been driven by the violence of the storm, succeeded in saving the lives of 167 of the men.

It would appear that the cost of keeping up the garrison at Annapolis Royal and the other “Plantations” was giving trouble to the Treasury, as a saving was, on the 12th May, proposed to be made in the Army by reducing the several marching regiments of Foot, which saving was to go towards defraying the charge of the said garrisons. The saving in Kirk's regiment was estimated at 2,332*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* per annum. The reduction proposed was to be from thirteen to twelve companies. There was also to be a reduction of one sergeant and six soldiers in each of the remaining companys, leaving the establishment twelve captains, two sergeants, three corporals, two drummers, and fifty private soldiers in each.‡

An estimate is given in the Treasury Papers, on the 19th November, of the forces in “Foreign Plantations,” with the charges

* War Office, Common Letter Book, No. 143, p. 133.

† Calendar of Treasury Papers, No. 145, p. 37.

‡ Domestic State Papers, 1712, May, No. 604, and War Office, Common Letter Book, No. 143*a*, p. 37.

thereof for the year 1713. The number of companies and men was as follows :—

Four companies at New York	...	...	...	449
One company at Bermuda (Queen's)	...	...	...	58
Four companies at Annapolis Royal (including the Queen's detachment)	...	...	...	364
Four companies at Placentia	...	...	...	364

The charge for these troops for the year was 19,448*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.**

The reduction of the thirty-two regiments on the scale given of the Queen's, brought them down to the Irish establishment, and it was proposed that as vacancies occurred in that establishment, some of the reduced regiments were to be ordered there.

An order, dated 30th July, was sent to Colonel Kirk, giving him full instructions as to the reduction of his regiment. After the remaining twelve companies were fully completed to their quota, the remaining non-commissioned officers and soldiers were to be disbanded, and were to be allowed fourteen days' subsistence to carry them home. They were also to be allowed to take with them their clothes, belts, and knapsacks, and to be paid 3*s.* each for their swords, which, with their arms, were to be returned into the Ordnance Stores. The sergeants were to be allowed to keep their swords. The commissioned officers disbanded were to be put on half-pay. In this order reference is made to the "detachment at Annapolis Royal." The total number of men reduced in the regiment was 151.†

An order on 10th May requested the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to order the commanders of the ships on the Berwick station to receive the clothing for Colonel Kirk's regiment, and take the same to Leith, "the distance by land being so great, and the regiment being much in need of it."

While in Edinburgh a list was sent in of the officers of the regiment who were "en second" and in England. The names appear as Captains Henry Gunn, John Mercer, R. Vannerson, Regmd. Ryley, Sir James Bourke, Gordon, James Fountain, Lieutenants Edwd. Maidman, Ingoldby Thorp, Charles Procter, Gwynn Vaughan, Tho. Johnson, and Nich. Bourne.‡

On the 6th August Colonel Kirk was ordered to send a company to Tynemouth to relieve a company of Colonel Clayton's. Two more companies were to go to Carlisle to relieve two of Colonel Clayton's companies, four companies to Hull to relieve four

* Calendar of Treasury Papers, Vol. 158, No. 2.

† War Office, Miscellany Book, 1712-1717, Vol. 522, July 30, and Journals of the House of Commons, 1711-1714, Vol. 17.

‡ Calendar of Treasury Papers, Vol. 158 No. 2.

of the same regiment there. The five remaining companies were to relieve an equal number of Colonel Clayton's regiment in other places.*

The reliefs of Clayton's regiment were preparatory to disbanding it, which was ordered to be done on the 13th and 14th August, along with the regiments of Grant and Sir Charles Hotham. The Queen's were to attend the disbanding of Colonel Clayton's regiment. Colonel Kirk was ordered to secure such recruits as he thought necessary to complete his own regiment, and also to make such exchanges of men as he thought advisable. The men of Clayton's regiment were to be relieved from duty as soon as Kirk's men arrived, but the regiment was not to be disbanded until a general officer appointed to superintend it should arrive.

In November, Kirk was ordered to send in a list of such of his officers as were minor. On 12th December he was ordered to send in a list of such of the disbanded men of his regiment, as he considered fit objects of the Queen's bounty, for Chelsea Hospital.

On 30th December he was ordered to send in an account of the strength of his regiment, and to send the same every fourteen days to the Duke of Ormond, and also to Mr. Wyndham's office.†

There is an interesting memorial of Lieutenant-General Seymour in the War Office Papers with reference to an allowance of 80*l.* a year that was made to his regiment, the "Queen's Own Regiment of Foot" (now the King's Own 4th Regiment) for trophy money in putting the drummers of the regiment into Her Majesty's livery. In the reply to the memorial which asks for the arrears due on this account, it is stated that there was a certificate from the office of the Great Wardrobe in the year 1702 for a set of twelve colours with ensign's staves, and also another certificate from the Lord Chamberlain's office, enclosing a warrant for a new set of colours for the regiment on the occasion of the union, "as being the Queen's Own Regiment."‡

An abstract of the establishment of guards and garrisons for this year gives the cost of Kirk's regiment as 42*l.* 10*s.* a day for the 246 days from 23rd December 1711 to 24th August 1712, and 36*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* for 119 days to 21st December 1712 at the reduced rate, giving a total cost for the year of 14,751*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*§

* War Office, Common Letter Book, No. 143, p. 41.

† War Office, Common Letter Book, No. 143, p. 215.

‡ War Office, Report Book, 1711-1714, Dec. 8.

§ Ibid.

The year 1713 is famous or infamous for the ratification of what the historian, Lord Mahon, calls "the shameful peace of Utrecht."* The Ministers, Bolingbroke and Oxford, had astonished their friends as they had pleased their enemies by their arrangement of the terms of this treaty, which gave better conditions to the French than they had been willing to accept in 1709. The magnificent administration of the two great men, Marlborough and Godolphin, had been overthrown by shameful cabals, and the great warrior and statesman had retired in disgust to the continent, and was joined there in the spring of this year by the duchess.

A new trouble, and a serious one, was looming in the future from the declining strength of the Queen, and men's minds began to be disturbed by the dangers of the succession.

The Lord Treasurer, Oxford, had been intriguing with the exiled House of Stuart, but his sympathies were undoubtedly on the Hanoverian side, while Lord Bolingbroke, from a variety of causes, leant strongly to Jacobitism. The prospect was gloomy, but the apprehended dangers to the Protestant religion by the restitution of the Stuarts kept the bulk of the leaders inclined steadily to the Hanoverian succession.

The regiment remained in the quarters of last year, with the exception of a change of a company from Hull to Carlisle. The War Office Papers record instructions to the governor of Hull, to permit "a company" of Colonel Kirk's regiment to march from Hull to Carlisle to assist the company there in the duty of the garrison. The governor of Carlisle is ordered to admit them.† The instructions are dated 26th May, and on the same date marching orders were sent to Hull for "the four" companies at Hull to march to Carlisle.

A report reached home in March of the miserable state of the detachment of the regiment at Annapolis Royal from want of pay. There seems also to have been considerable trouble with the Indians. In one of the skirmishes two of the soldiers of the Queen's detachment, William Pearson and John Maclean, were taken prisoners. They managed to escape from their captors, and in February next year arrived in Spain.

General Francis Nicholson, general, &c., of the forces in Nova Scotia, was in March ordered to go to Placentia and Annapolis Royal to consolidate the detachments into independent companies. His instructions, dated 18th April, state that immediately on his

* Mahon, Vol. 1, p. 6.

† War Office, Common Letter Book, No. 143a, p. 336.

arrival at Placentia and at Annapolis Royal he was to cause the several drafts and detachments out of the several regiments commanded by Lieutenant-General Seymour, Colonel Kirk, Major-General Hill, Colonel Disney, Colonel Clayton, Colonel Windresse, and Colonel Kane to be formed into four independent companies, to serve in Annapolis; each company was to consist of, besides commissioned officers, three sergeants, three corporals, two drummers, and eighty private soldiers. Four other independent companies were to be formed in like manner for service at Placentia, for which purpose a draft was to be made of 300 men out of the forces in Ireland.* The companies were ordered to be mustered every two calendar months by the commissary of musters, and the muster rolls duly transmitted to Britain with duplicates. General Nicholson was ordered "to take the men over with the garrison," and to see that the accounts of every regiment were sealed and adjusted to the 24th August, at which date they would cease to belong to the regiment, and were to be taken on to the garrison.

A curious entry is in the Treasury Papers, dated 9th January, this year. In the sums paid for contingencies upon the establishment of Guards' garrisons is an amount of 36*l.* 10*s.* paid to Cornelius, a woman who served in the late war as an ensign of Foot, upon being wounded her sex was discovered. In consideration of her services she was granted the sum named above.

On the 12th May an order was received for reducing Colonel Kirk's regiment of Foot. Two of the youngest companies (the Grenadiers only excepted), with the two youngest captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, and none others, were to be forthwith disbanded, and the remaining ten companies reduced to 36 privates, instead of 50, in each. Colonel Kirk was instructed to keep the best men of the two disbanded companies, and discharge a like number of the others less fit for service. He was also ordered to return a list of the officers of his regiment who had been reduced on half-pay, and the days on which they had been reduced. The total number of men discharged was 280. The following is a list of the new establishment.

* War Office, Miscellaneous Book, 1712-1717, Vol. 522, April 13, 1713.

TREASURY ESTABLISHMENT BOOK, 1713, No. 31, and W.O. ESTABLISHMENT BOOK.

1713, June 15.—A regiment of foot commanded by Colonel Kirk, consisting of ten companies of 36 private men in each. In all 445 men, officers included, commencing 24 June 1713.

	Per Diem.	For 184 Days.
<i>Field and Staff Officers.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>
Colonel, as Colonel, 12s., in lieu of his servants, 2s. -	0 14 0	128 16 0
Lieutenant-Colonel, as Lieutenant-Colonel - -	0 7 0	64 8 0
Major, as Major - - - - -	0 5 0	46 0 0
Chaplain - - - - -	0 6 8	61 6 8
Chirurgion, 4s., and one mate, 2s. 6d. - - -	0 6 6	59 16 0
Adjutant and Quartermaster - - - - -	0 4 0	36 16 0
Drum Major - - - - -	0 1 6	13 16 0
	2 4 8	410 18 8
<i>One Company.</i>		
Captain, 8s., in lieu of his servants, 2s. - -	0 10 0	92 0 0
Lieutenant, 4s., in lieu of his servant, 8d. - -	0 4 8	42 18 8
Ensign, 3s., in lieu of his servant, 8d. - - -	0 3 8	33 14 8
2 sergeants, each 18d. - - - - -	0 3 0	27 12 0
2 corporals, each 12d. - - - - -	0 2 0	18 8 0
1 drummer - - - - -	0 1 0	9 4 0
36 private soldiers, each 8d. - - - - -	1 4 0	220 16 0
	2 8 4	444 13 4
The pay of eight companies more at the same rates and numbers as the company above mentioned -	19 6 8	3,557 6 8
One company of Grenadiers to complete this regiment - - - - -		
Captain, 8s., in lieu of his servants, 2s. - -	0 10 0	92 0 0
2 lieutenants, each 4s., in lieu of their servants, 1s. 4d. -	0 9 4	85 17 4
2 sergeants, each 18d. - - - - -	0 3 0	27 12 0
2 corporals, each 12d. - - - - -	0 2 0	18 8 0
1 drummer - - - - -	0 1 0	9 4 0
36 Grenadiers, each 8d. - - - - -	1 4 0	220 16 0
	2 9 4	453 17 4
Total for this regiment - - - - -	26 9 0	4,866 16 0
1713, July 20.—1 company at Bermudas consisting of 58 men, officers included - - - - -	2 14 4	499 17 4

At the time of the reduction the regiment is stated to have been quartered at Berwick, Hull, Carlisle, and Tynemouth. The reduction was to be completed within 12 days. The strength of the regiment in April before its reduction was 725 men. In the parliamentary papers it is recorded that "Queen Anne was not unmindful of the arduous and faithful services which had been rendered by her troops in time of need, and recommended them to the consideration of Parliament as brave

men who had exposed their lives in the service of their country, and could not be employed in time of peace."*

In a list of the half-pay officers which appears in the Treasury books are the names of :—Captains, Benjamin Rudyard and Edward Daniel, each 5*s.* per diem ; lieutenants, Patrick Garden and Paul Latour, each 2*s.* 4*d.* per diem ; ensigns, William Gardner and John Wyndham, each 1*s.* 10*d.* per diem ; John Arnot, adjutant, 2*s.* per diem. The officers "en second" are stated to be :—Captains, Sir James Bourke, John Mercer, Reginald Ryley, Revixit Vannersen, and Charles Collier Bickley (from 26th May 1714) ; lieutenants (from 25th December 1713), Edward Maidman, Ingleby Thorp, Gwynn Vaughan, Thomas Johnson, and Nicholas Bourn ; ensigns, Robert Kennedy, Wm. Bellassis, and Charles Honynwood (same rate of half-pay).

The assignment of the off-reckonings for the year to John Brock and his assigns for the clothing of the regiment is this year 1,087*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.*

The establishment of the regiment was in 1714 again altered. The number of private men in each company being raised by warrant, dated 29th April, from thirty-six to forty men per company.† The number of men—officers included—is given as 485. The cost was 27*l.* 15*s.* per diem, or 10,140*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* per annum. The company at Bermudas cost 2*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* per diem, or 991*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

Early in the year, Colonel Kirk was ordered to send a list of what officers taken under his command had died or been "provided" for since their disbanding. A sum of 208*l.* 5*s.* 8½*d.* appears, according to the Treasury Papers, to have been due on 7th April for clothing for the disbanded portion of the regiment. On July 31st he was instructed to take care that the several companies of his regiment were forthwith completed according to present establishment.

He was further ordered, on the 14th October, to send a list of the christian name and surname of all the officers under his command, that an exact list might be prepared for new commissions (consequent on the death of the Queen) to be signed by the King.

A list is given of the officers absent from their regiment in the State Papers, and the reasons of their absence. It is as follows :—

* Cannon's History of the Second Regiment of Foot, p. 34.

† Audit Office, Military Establishment Book, 1714, No. 36, 37.

Officers' Names and Quality of Rank.	Reason of Absence.	For what Time.
Lt.-Col. Boismorell -	With Lt. Portmore, in Portugal.	—
Major Culliford - -	The Queen's leave -	For 6 months, from 23 February 1710/11.
Major Davis - - -	Engineer in Spain - -	—
Lt. Garden - - -	The Queen's leave - -	For 12 months, from 11 December 1710.
Capt. Collier - - -	} Not stated - - -	—
Ensign Bellassis - -		
" Honywood - - -		
" Phillips - - -		

The officers on half-pay, &c. same as last year.

On the 14th May it was ordered that no officer should be absent from his quarters without leave from the Lords Justices, "so that it is requisite immediate notice be given to Colonel Kirk's officers to repair to their posts."*

On the 11th August the companies then at Hull and Tynemouth were ordered to go to Berwick.

The great historical event so dreaded by the Protestants and anxiously expected by the Jacobites, namely, the demise of Queen Anne, found the latter unprepared. The fierce and angry cabals at the Court, and the consequent anxiety and disturbance to the quiet so necessary for the Queen in her delicate state of health, had not been without its effect on her.

The Jacobites had been very active, and had gone as far as introducing officers into England to enlist men for their cause. The Ministers thought it necessary not only to pass a Bill making it high treason to list or be enlisted in the Pretender's service, but issued a proclamation offering a reward of 5,000*l.* for apprehending the Prince should he dare to land in England. The Commons actually passing a resolution to increase the proposed reward to 100,000*l.*†

On the 27th July the Queen at a council meeting gave the coup de grâce to her Prime Minister Oxford, whom she had for some time distrusted, by informing the Council of some of the grounds of her displeasure against him. A stormy altercation was carried on in the Queen's presence, lasting till two in the morning, at the end of which Lord Bolingbroke, the strong Jacobite partisan, became Prime Minister. His efforts, however, happily for the nation, to form a ministry were futile, and the sudden and desperate illness

* War Office, Common Letter Book, No. 145, p. 234.

† Mahon, Vol. I., p. 85.

of the Queen on the 30th July (caused, no doubt, by the agitating nature of the council meeting on the 27th), came on before he and the Jacobites could mature their plans. The Whigs were more active and prompt. At a council meeting hastily summoned, it was decided to recommend to the Queen, should she be restored to consciousness, that the Duke of Shrewsbury should be made Lord Treasurer. This was happily done. On Saturday (the next day) the Queen had sank into a lethargy, and on the following morning she expired. Couriers were at once despatched to the Elector at Hanover, acquainting him with the news, and the Lords Justices issued a proclamation declaring the "High and Mighty Prince George, Elector of Brunswick-Lüneberg, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland." Immediately after the demise the council met, and received from the Hanoverian resident, in the Elector's own writing, a list of persons who, with the seven great officers of State, were to act as Lords Justice, until the King arrived. In this list, to the great surprise of everyone, there was a strange omission, the names of the great warrior and statesman, Marlborough, and of the high minded and patriotic Somers were absent. Marlborough was not a favourite of the Elector, who had resented a supposed slight of Marlborough's in not communicating to him his plan of the campaign of 1708.

The Lords Justices chose for their secretary Joseph Addison, the son of our Tangier's chaplain, and all despatches were ordered to be sent to him.

The accession of the King, to the great surprise of all, was prosperous and undisturbed, not only at home but abroad. France sent over a verbal assurance by Lord Peterborough of her acknowledgment of King George, which was followed and confirmed by King Louis in a letter to the Lords Justices.

The appellation of the regiment on the death of the Queen was changed to that of "Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales' Own Regiment of Foot," the new King, George First, not having a consort.

There appears to have been some trouble in the garrison of Carlisle at this period. A letter dated 11th August 1714, from Brigadier Stanivix to the Secretary for War, reporting the disturbance, caused a letter to be sent from the War Office to the officer commanding the Queen's, ordering him to summon the officers to repair forthwith to their posts. Three companies of Brigadier Sutton's regiment were, "upon their landing," to march to Hull to relieve the companies of Colonel Kirk's regiment doing duty there, and four of the companies of the regiment were ordered to march from Hull and Tynemouth to Berwick to join the other companies for duty at that garrison.

The following is the regulation of the pay and subsistence as given in the War Office Establishment Book:—

War Office Establishment Book, 1710–1740, No. 848.

Regulation of Subsistence to be paid to all the Forces at Home as well as Abroad, to commence from 25 Oct. last until further order, all former Regulations to cease and determine. Subsistence per diem for a Marching Regiment of Foot:—

							<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For a Colonel and Captain					... ..	18	0	
For a Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain					... ..	13	0	
For a Major and Captain					... ..	11	6	
For a Captain					and in lieu of	7	6	
For a Lieutenant					his servants.	3	6	
For an Ensign					... ..	3	0	
For a Quartermaster					... ..	3	0	
For a Chaplain	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	
For an Adjutant	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	
For a Surgeon	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	
For a Mate	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	
For a Drummer	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	
For a Drum Major	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	
For a Serjeant	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	
For a Corporal	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	
For a Private Man	...	...	...	...	...	0	6	

For an Independent Company, *i.e.*, for a Captain and in lieu of his servant 7/6. For a Lieutenant and in lieu of his servant 3/6. For a Serjeant 1/–, For a Corporal and Drummer 8^d each and to a private man 6^d.

[The Subsistence for Horse Dragoons and Foot Guards given also.]

On the 30th November two companies were ordered from Berwick to Tweedmouth and Spittle, but in December Kirk represented that these places were not sufficient to provide quarters for two companies, and he was thereupon ordered to return one to the head-quarters of the regiment.

In the annual assignment of the off-reckonings from Colonel Kirk to John Brock on the 2nd December for the clothing and accoutrements, the amount is given as 1,070*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.* In the early part of the year—17th April—an account was given of the clothing sent to Annapolis Royal. It was as follows:—

						<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
300 sentinel coats	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0 each
300 pairs breeches	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	0 „
60 watch gowns	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0 „

A later account gives the following:—Shoes 4*s.* each, buckles 6*d.* each, shirts 4*s.* each, neckcloths 1*s.* each, gloves 1*s.* 6*d.* each.*

A memorial was sent on the 31st August to the Lords of the Treasury by Major-General Hill, Colonels Kirk, Clayton, Disney,

* Calendar of Treasury Papers, Vol. 177, No. 33.

Kane, and Windresse, for the payment of subsistence money still owing for the expedition to Canada. The officers pray their Lordships will be pleased to make the payment of the balance 2,802*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*, as the officers have been put to great straits for want of it.

A further reduction took place this year in the establishment of the regiment, the total number being reduced to 445 men.*

* MSS. of the Queen's Regiment, Royal United Service Institution.

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